

# The Review of English Studies

VOL. I.—No. 2.

APRIL 1925.

## THE INTEGRITY OF *THE TEMPEST*

By E. K. CHAMBERS

DISINTEGRATING criticism has approached the problem of *The Tempest* by four paths.

1. There are certain analogies to the play in *Die Schöne Sidea*, which forms part of the *Opus Theatricum* (1618) of Jacob Ayer of Nuremberg (*ob.* 1605). Here, as in *The Tempest*, we find a prince and magician, with a familiar spirit, a fair daughter, and an enemy's son, whose sword is held in thrall by the magician's art, who must bear logs for the lady, and who wins release through her love. Such a task and its solution form a common enough theme of romance and folk-tale, from Theseus and Ariadne onwards. The resources of *Quellen-forschung* have been fully equal to tracing it in Renaissance, especially Spanish, literature. The details of the logs and the stayed sword probably point to some closer community of origin between *Sidea* and *The Tempest*. It should perhaps be added that the enemy of Ayer's magician has a councillor Franciscus, and in *The Tempest* a Francisco has a rather shadowy existence, apparently as a "lord" of the usurping duke of Milan. The stage-directions note his entries at II. i. 1, III. iii. 1, v. i. 58; but he only speaks three words at III. iii. 40, and ten lines at II. i. 113, which very probably really belong to Gonzalo. It has been thought that Ayer used a pre-1605 version of *The Tempest* as a model. But obviously other explanations are equally plausible; a knowledge by Shakespeare of the German play, or of a report of it brought home

by English actors from Germany; a common source, dramatic or narrative, now lost. This might be the *Celine und Seda* found in Anglo-German play-lists of 1604 and 1613, although no name resembling Celine is in Ayler's play. Certainly, as we have them, *The Tempest* and *Sidea* are distinct plays. They have very different local and historical settings. *Sidea* has no storm and no magic island. And there are no parallels of phrase, such as would suggest a common archetypal text. It is true that in the new Cambridge edition of *The Tempest* (1921) Sir A. Quiller-Couch tells us (p. xlix) "that 'mountain' and 'silver,' two names of the spirit hounds which Prospero and Ariel set upon the 'foul conspiracy' (iv. i. 256), occur in an invocation of Prince Ludolph's in the German play," and that his colleague, Mr. J. D. Wilson, says more cautiously (p. 104) that "there is an obscure mention of 'silver, hill and mountain' in *Die Schöne Sidea* which may refer to spirits." But there is surely some misunderstanding here. The phrase does not occur in an invocation of Ludolph's at all, and I cannot find anything obscure or any reference to spirits in it. It is in a speech by Sidea's rival Julia, to whom there is no analogue in *The Tempest*. Julia is describing her reception by her prospective father-in-law (not the magician Ludolph, but his enemy, Leudegast), and says:

Verheist mir Silber Hügel vnd Berg.

It is simple enough. The silver and land were her promised dower.

2. It has been held that the fragment of a mask in iv. i. is an interpolation into the play as originally written, and by some that it is not Shakespeare's work, but Beaumont's or Chapman's. The motive is supposed to have been a desire to adapt the play to the circumstances of the winter season of 1612-13, which preceded the wedding of the Princess Elizabeth and Frederick the Elector Palatine, on February 14, 1613. No doubt *The Tempest* is recorded to have been given at court on some unnamed day during this season, and the appropriateness of the hymeneal mask is evident. But we do not know that it was not equally appropriate to the earlier performance which is also recorded on November 1, 1611, and which may also have celebrated, although we do not know that it did celebrate, some courtly wedding. There is only one specific reference in the mask itself which can yield a clue (iv. i. 114):

Spring come to you at the farthest,  
In the very end of harvest.

Mr. Dover Wilson tells us that " ' Spring ' here is clearly a veiled reference to the ' offspring ' of the royal marriage (cf. ' issue,' l. 105), since nine months from the beginning of 1613 takes us to ' the very end of harvest.' " I dare say it does, but the royal marriage was on February 14, and even if we accept Mr. W. J. Lawrence's rather arbitrary conjecture (*Fortnightly*, cxiii. 941) that the play was given at the betrothal on December 27, it would hardly be decent, in view of what Prospero says about " bed-right," to start the calculation from that day. As a matter of fact, the allusion fits the 1611 performance well enough, since the words " at the farthest " allow a little margin over nine months.

3. Mr. Dover Wilson makes use of points 1 and 2, although he does not commit himself upon, and oddly enough does not discuss, the authorship of the mask. In other respects, however, he carries the critical analysis a good deal further. He disclaims an attempt " to frame a hypothetical history of *The Tempest* MS." But he finds " good reason to suppose that the ' copy ' for the Folio text was author's manuscript which had served as prompt-copy in the theatre," lays down the general principle that " prompt-copy in that age might have a long history," and thinks that " the condition of the Folio text appears to show that *The Tempest* MS. had seen many changes before it reached the printer's hands." Becoming more specific, he makes the following suggestions :

(i) " When Shakespeare took up *The Tempest* late in his career he had an old manuscript to go upon, possibly an early play of his own, which may have been related to the original of *Die Schöne Sidea*." This view is based upon (a) traces of cancelled rhymed couplets, and (b) a scrap of doggerel, both of which Mr. Wilson regards as signs of early work.

(ii) " The received text has been clearly abridged, and abridged in the main by Shakespeare himself," and in i. ii. 187-320 (Prospero's first dialogue with Ariel, containing the exposition of Caliban's prehistory) " the abridgment is distinctly cruder and more drastic than elsewhere." The proof of this consists of (a) the shortness of the play; (b) broken lines, taken as indicating " cuts "; (c) incorrect verse-lining, taken as indicating marginal alterations; (d) unsystematic mingling of verse and prose; (e) incomplete or inconsistent handling of minor characters; (f) the immense length of the second scene. It requires, perhaps, some ingenuity to turn the length of a scene into an argument for abridgment. But Mr. Wilson explains

that most of the second scene "is taken up with an account of events which we may assume provided material for pre-wreck scenes in the earlier version;" and goes on to point to the "remarkable" fact that the early scenes of *The Tempest* contain three separate expositions. "The threefold difficulty is tackled by Shakespeare with consummate skill; but the expositions are there, and they tell their own tale. At some stage of its evolution *The Tempest* was in all likelihood a loosely constructed drama, like *A Winter's Tale* and *Pericles*."

(iii) "The Masque, which we can with certainty date early 1613 or Christmas 1612, appears to be an after-thought inserted into Act 4 when the play had already taken final shape under Shakespeare's hand," and it was perhaps the need to make room for this addition, whether carried out by Shakespeare or another, which led to the crude abridgment of I. ii. 187-320.

If then I understand Mr. Wilson aright, there have been two distinct abridgments, not necessarily for the same production; firstly a general abridgment, entailing the replacement of pre-wreck scenes by expositions, and leaving the play as a whole short, but the second scene immense; and then a further abridgment, to enable the mask-scene (IV. i.) to be expanded without adding to the total length of the play. I will return shortly to an analysis, through several scenes, of Mr. Wilson's evidence.

4. Mr. H. D. Gray, in "Some Indications that *The Tempest* was Revised" (1921, *Studies in Philology*, xviii. 129), points out that Act IV., as it stands, would be empty without the mask, and, while accepting this as an insertion, suggests that it replaced matter in which the plots of Caliban and Stephano against Prospero and of Anthonio and Sebastian against Alonso received greater elaboration. This is conceivable, although I do not think that either intrigue is demonstrably incomplete, or could have been carried much further against the omnipotence of Prospero. No doubt the Anthonio theme is left sketchy and rather unmotivated, but its dramatic purpose is served in adding a touch of black to the character of Anthonio. The Caliban plot is of course mere farce, and ends happily enough in the "filthy mantled pool." It is not, and never could have been, serious enough quite to explain Prospero's passion at the mask. The mask, however, had to be broken off abruptly, in order to obviate the necessity of staging the full teams of dancers. The masks brought into plays are rarely completed. Mr. Gray partly



rests his case upon the use of the motive of stealing the magician's books in *Li Tre Satiri*, one of a group of Italian *scenari*, which he supposes (1920, "The Sources of the *Tempest*," in *Modern Language Notes*, xxxv. 321) to be the origin of the play. These *scenari* were printed by F. Neri, *Scenari delle Maschere in Arcadia* (1913), from the large collection made by Basilio Locatelli and now in the Casanatense at Rome. Unfortunately, this book is now out of print, and so far I have not been able to trace a copy in this country. To judge by Mr. Gray's description, a number of episodes, spread over half a dozen *scenari*, do in the aggregate bear such a resemblance to the theme of *The Tempest* as to suggest some kind of connection. But what that connection was remains obscure. Locatelli's manuscript is dated 1622, according to Mr. Gray, 1618 according to a reviewer in the *Athenæum* (March 20, 1915). Obviously there is no evidence here of priority to *The Tempest*. On the other hand, the *scenari* might relate to performances of earlier date than that of the manuscript. Mr. Gray says that "there is no reason to doubt that Shakespeare could have seen them acted in London." The plausibility of this depends upon whether they *were* acted in London, and surely this is a hazardous conjecture as regards any particular group of seventeenth-century Italian *scenari*. Visits of Italian actors to this country were not very frequent. The only early Jacobean example known to me, and unfortunately overlooked in writing Chapter XIV. of *The Elizabethan Stage*, was in 1610, when Prince Henry's privy purse accounts (*S. P. Dom. Jac. I.* lvii. 87) show payments to "an Italian comedian" of £5 on March 17 and £2 on April 13. On January 9 Henry gave £6 to "Daniell the Italian." He is not called a comedian, and I cannot trace an actor of that name in the *Accesi* or *Fedeli* or any other known Italian troupe.

I now turn to the play itself. And first for the stage-directions. These are more elaborate than in any other play of the canon, and have sometimes been thought to be the work of a Folio editor for the assistance of readers. I agree, however, with Mr. Wilson that they may very well be substantially due to Shakespeare himself, writing in absence from London, and anxious to replace his personal supervision by careful instructions on apparel and stage-business to the producer. If so, they do not militate against the view that *The Tempest* was printed from prompt-copy. On the other hand, the mere presence of author's directions does not of itself prove this,

and I am not quite sure what are Mr. Wilson's reasons for supposing that the copy used for the Folio had in fact served as prompt-copy. He does not point to anything clearly due to a book-keeper as distinct from a playwright. I think, however, that there are in fact some faint indications of certain alterations in the interests of *spectacle*, for which Shakespeare was probably not responsible. I shall come to these in due course. My quotations are from the Globe text, except where any purpose is served by keeping the orthography or punctuation of the Folio.

#### ACT I. SCENE I. (*The Wreck Scene*)

This is written in alternating sections of prose and verse. Mr. Wilson regards this as evidence of revision, and thinks that it was "probably a verse-scene in the original unrevised play." To me the alternation appears intentional and dramatic; the emotional tone rising and falling with the fits of the storm. The more excited passages, including the boatswain's cries to the mariners, are in verse, often rough and broken; during the lulls the boatswain and the courtiers exchange comments and abuse in prose. This arrangement has misled the compositor, who prints far too much as prose, and incidentally, after the Folio fashion, tends to elide syllables which are required by the scansion. To some extent this is admitted by Mr. Wilson, who recovers seven verse-lines, "partly by expanding contractions." I should go farther, and arrange as follows (the brackets indicate elisions or omissions of the Folio):

*A tempestuous noise of Thunder and Lightning heard: Enter a Ship-master, and a Boteswaine.*

MASTER      Bote-swaine.

BOTESWAINE

MAST.

Heere Master: What cheere?

Good:

Speake to th[e] Mariners: fall too [i]t, yarely,  
Or we run our selues a ground, bestirre, bestirre.

*Enter Mariners.*

BOTES.      Heigh my hearts, cheerely, cheerely my harts: yare, yare:  
Take in the toppe-sale: Tend to th[e] Masters whistle:  
Blow till thou burst thy winde, if roome enough.

*Enter Alonso, Sebastian, Anthonio, Ferdinando, Gonzalo, and others.*

ALONSO      Good Boteswaine haue [a ?] care: where [i]s the Master?  
Play the men.

BOTES.      I pray now keepe below.

ANTHONIO      Where is the Master, Boson?

- BOTES. Do you not heare him ? you marre our labour,  
 Keepe your Cabines : you do assist the storme.  
 GONZALO. Nay, good be patient. When the Sea is : hence,  
 BOTES. What cares these roarers for the name of King ?  
 To Cabine ; silence : trouble us not.  
 GON. Good, yet remember whom thou hast aboard.  
 BOTES. None that I more loue then my selfe. You are a Counsellor, if  
 you can command these Elements to silence, and worke the  
 peace of the present, wee will not hand a rope more, vse your  
 authoritie : If you cannot, giue thanks you haue liu'd so long,  
 and make your selfe readie in your Cabine for the mischance  
 of the houre, if it so hap.  
 Cheerely good hearts : out of our way I say. *Exit.*  
 GON. I haue great comfort from this fellow : methinks he hath not  
 drowning marke vpon him, his complexion is perfect Gallowes :  
 stand fast good Fate to his hanging, make the rope of his  
 destiny our cable, for our owne doth little aduantage : If he  
 be not borne to bee hang'd, our case is miserable. *Exit.*

*Enter Boteswaine.*

- BOTES. Downe with the top-Mast : yare, lower, lower,  
 Bring her to Try with Maine-course.  
 A plague——  
*A cry within. Enter Sebastian, Anthonio & Gonzalo.*  
 vpon this howling :  
 They are lowder then the weather, or our office :  
 Yet againe ? What do you heere ? Shal we giue ore and drowne,  
 haue you a minde to sinke ?  
 SEB. A poxe o' your throat, you bawling, blasphemous incharitable Dog.  
 BOTES. Worke you then.  
 ANTH. Hang cur, hang, you whoreson insolent Noyse-maker, we are  
 lesse afraid to be drownde, then thou art.  
 GONZ. I'll warrant him for drowning, though the Ship were no stronger  
 then a Nutt-shell, and as leaky as an vnstanch'd wench.  
 BOTES. Lay her a hold, a hold, set her two courses  
 Off to Sea againe, lay her off.

*Enter Mariners wet.*

- MARI. All lost, to prayers, to prayers, all lost.  
 BOTES. What must our mouths be cold ?  
 GONZ. The King, and Prince, at prayers, let's assist them,  
 For our case is as theirs.  
 SEB. I'am out of patience.  
 ANTH. We are meerly cheated of our lives by drunkards,  
 This wide-chopt-rascall, would thou mightst lye drowning  
 The washing of ten Tides.  
 GONZ. Hee'l be hang'd yet,  
 Though euery drop of water sweare against it,  
 And gape at widst to glut him. *A confused noyse within.*  
 Mercy on vs  
 We split, we split. Farewell my wife, and children,  
 Farewell brother : we split, we split, we split.  
 ANTH. Let's all sinke wi[th] th[e] King.  
 SEB. Let's take leaue of him. *Exit.*  
 GONZ. Now would I giue a thousand furlongs of Sea, for an Acre of  
 barren ground : Long heath, Browne firrs, any thing ; the  
 wills aboue be done, but I would faine dye a dry death. *Exit.*

Of the thirty-four lines here treated as verse, only six are so treated by the Folio and twenty-two by Mr. Wilson. I must add that the verse does not read to me at all like early work of Shakespeare.

# ACT I. SCENE II

1-186 (*Prospero and Miranda : the First Exposition*).

Only two passages require comment.

(a) Prospero tells Miranda that she knows no more than that he is Prospero and her father. She says (21) :

More to know  
Did never meddle with my thoughts,

but in her very next speech (33)

You have often  
Begun to tell me what I am, but stopp'd,  
And left me to a bootless inquisition,  
Concluding, "Stay : not yet."

This is one of those small inconsistencies of dialogue which are frequent in Shakespeare, pass easily on the stage, and must not be pressed as evidence for revision.

(b) 156-60 :

PROS.	An undergoing stomach, to bear up Against what should ensue.	which raised in me How came we ashore ?
MIR.	By providence divine,	
PROS.	Some food, we had, and some fresh water, that A noble Neapolitan, Gonzalo . . . did give us . . .	

Mr. Wilson comments : "The isolated half-line and the comma suggest a 'cut' here. Prospero never answers Miranda's question." But he does. They came ashore, because Providence, acting through Gonzalo, had supplied them with food and water. As for the half-line, it is common enough for a half-line speech, breaking into a longer speech, to do double duty as a member of two successive metrical lines.

187-320 (*Prospero and Ariel : the Second Exposition*).

Mr. Wilson finds "bibliographical disturbance," from which he infers "cuts" and insertions, concentrated in this section of the scene.

(a) There are five broken lines :

(188) Approach, my Ariel, come.

*Enter ARIEL.*

(316) Come, thou tortoise ! when ?

*Enter ARIEL like a water nymph.*

Thou poisonous slave, got by the devil himself

(320) Upon thy wicked dam, come forth !

*Enter CALIBAN.*

Two (188, 320) are speech-endings, at the other (316) the speaker turns to a new addressee ; and in all these cases entries fill the pauses.

PROS.

Hast thou, spirit,

(195) ARIEL. Perform'd to point the tempest that I bade thee ?  
To every article.  
I boarded the king's ship, now on the beak . . .

This is rather abrupt, but Ariel may take pause to think before he begins his story. Little, if anything, can be missing, since the twelve lines of Ariel's speech fully answer Prospero's question.

(253) Thou dost, and think'st it much to tread the ooze  
Of the salt deep,  
To run upon the sharp wind of the north,  
To do me business in the veins o' th' earth  
When it is baked with frost.

This is certainly abrupt. Mr. Wilson calls it a "glaring 'cut.'"  
Dr. Greg (*M. L. R.* xvii. 178) points out that the speech runs too smoothly for a mere cut, and thinks that there may have been a more substantial alteration, from a passage containing a line

Think'st much to tread the ooze of the salt deep,

But again there cannot be much missing : the dialogue as a whole is consistent and adequate.

As a matter of fact, there is a sixth broken line, which Mr. Wilson does not note :

(235) And are upon the Mediterranean flote,  
Bound sadly home for Naples,  
Supposing that they saw the King's ship wracked,  
And his great person perish.

The completeness of the grammatical structure makes any substantial cut unlikely.

(b) The lineation of the Folio, as throughout the play, is good, but there is one mis-division (309-10), where

MIR. 'Tis a villain, sir, I do not love to look on.—

contains the end of one line and the beginning of the next. I think

the Folio has a tendency to merge consecutive half-lines, for the saving of space.

(c) Mr. Wilson finds the account of Sycorax in Argier (260-7) obscure, and thinks that a fuller narrative has been cut. Certainly we are left in doubt as to whether the witch was born in Argier and why her life was spared. I doubt whether there is anything in this but the awkwardness due to the attempt (noticeable also in 1-186) to break the exposition by question and answer.

(d) Mr. Wilson thinks that the account of Caliban (281-6), which breaks into the story of Ariel's imprisonment and release, is "an addition, a piece of patchwork, designed to compensate for a rent elsewhere in this section." Dr. Greg apparently agrees. Here also I find nothing but rather clumsy exposition.

Both Mr. Wilson and Dr. Greg also find "botchery" in the following, where "correct lining and scansion are impossible," and the repetition of the prefix *Pro.* points to a join in the MS.

- (298) PRO. Doe so : and after two daies  
I will discharge thee.  
AR. That's my noble Master :  
What shall I doe ? say what ? what shall I doe ?  
PRO. Goe make thy selfe like a Nymph o' th' Sea,  
Be subject to no sight but thine, and mine : inuisible  
To euery eye-ball else : goe take this shape  
And hither come in't : goe : hence  
With diligence. Exit.  
PRO. Awake, deere hart awake, thou hast slept well,  
Awake.

I am inclined to agree that there has been an insertion, not as part of a recast of the scene, but at the hands of the book-keeper, to lead up to an elaboration of the spectacular element in the play by the momentary and dramatically purposeless apparition of Ariel "like a water nymph" at l. 316 (*v. supra*). If so, of course the broken line (316) may after all be part of the alteration.

321-74 (*Prospero and Caliban*).

(a) Mr. Wilson finds three broken lines :

- (324) And blister you all o'er. A south-west blow on ye,

A broken line at the end of a speech in a late play is common enough, and no proof of a cut.

- PROS. thou didst seek to violate  
(348) The honour of my child.  
CAL. O ho, O ho ! would't had been done.



Here we have, not two broken lines, but one complete one. Caliban's laugh is extra-metrical.

(b) The Folio (360-2) reads :

therefore wast thou  
Deseruedly confin'd into this Rocke, who hadst  
Deseru'd more then a prison.

Mr. Wilson redivides :

Deservedly confined into this rock,  
Who hadst deserved more than a prison.

And he comments, "The rough verse, the broken line and the echo 'deservedly . . . deserved' all suggest hasty revision." I do not know that his four and a half foot line is any less "rough" than the six footer. If I were given to emendation, I think I should assume that "deseru'd" had caught the compositor's eye twice, and let it run, still with a broken speech ending :

Confin'd into this rock, who hadst deserved  
More than a prison.

In any case, the passage looks to me like a misprint, rather than a revision.

376-501 (*Prospero, Ferdinand, and Miranda*).

Mr. Wilson finds "no bibliographical peculiarities"; neither do I, except a final broken line (501).

#### ACT II. SCENE I

1-190 (*The Third Exposition : Gonzalo's Philosophy*).

Prose and verse are a good deal mixed, and a verse line or two may be embedded in prose passages. Mr. Wilson takes the prose for a revision; but such a piecemeal revision wants as much explanation as an original mixture. Certainly the verse, which on the whole is used for the more exalted passages, is not early work.

191-327 (*Plot against Alonso*).

(a) Mr. Wilson does not note two broken lines, one (218) a speech-ending, the other (275) an exclamation.

(b) There are three cases of misdivided lines (192-3, 195-8, 244-5), but sporadic misdivisions are very poor evidence of revision, and Mr. Wilson's attempt at a reconstruction of an original form for 192-8 suggests that, if there was any revision, it was quite trivial. In 244-5 I only see space-saving, analogous to that of I. ii. 309-10.

(c) In 297-305 Ariel enters and sings a song in Gonzalo's ear. This seems inconsistent with the conversation after the waking of Alonso and Gonzalo (in itself intelligible enough, *pace* Mr. Wilson), in which Gonzalo speaks of a "humming" and the disturbed murderers of a "bellowing" or "roare." Possibly the song, like i. ii. 298-305, may be a theatrical sophistication.

#### ACT II. SCENE II. (*Caliban and Mariners*)

The mariners speak prose; Caliban mainly, but not entirely, verse. The Folio compositor, as in i. i., is confused, prints some of Caliban's lines as prose, and contrariwise has some irregular prose lines with initial capitals. Mr. Wilson thinks that this is the result of revision, but original differentiation, to emphasize the abnormality of Caliban, is just as plausible as differentiated revision.

#### ACT III. SCENE I. (*Ferdinand and Miranda*)

Mr. Wilson (p. 84) finds "no marks of revision," but (p. 79) notes certain traces of rhymed couplets as indicating Shakespeare's use of "an old manuscript, possibly an early play of his own." These are:

(24) I'll bear your logs the while : pray give me that ;  
I'll carry it to the pile.

(29) I should do it  
With much more ease : for my good will is to it,

Mere carelessness, I think.

#### ACT III. SCENE II. (*Caliban and Mariners*)

The arrangement is similar to that of II. ii., except that occasionally Stephano, as well as Caliban, speaks verse. Trinculo has three lines, probably of doggerel (86-89), although treated by the Globe as prose, which Mr. Wilson thinks "fossil from the earlier version."

#### ACT III. SCENE III

Mr. Wilson finds "marks of revision, slight." These appear to be:

(a) Four broken lines, of which one (19) is a short exclamatory speech, and three (52, 82, 93) are speech-endings, the first two being cut short by thunder.

(b) One misdivision, due, I think, like I. ii. 309-10, to the merging of what would normally appear as two half-lines in the Folio.

- ANT. Doe not for one repulse forgoe the purpose  
 (13) That you resolu'd t'effect.  
 SEB. The next advantage will we take throughly.  
 ANT. Let it be to night,

(c) Two buried rhymes, analogous to III. i. 24.

- (32) Their manners are more gentle-kind, than of  
 Our human generation you shall find  
 Many, nay, almost any.  
 (50) Although my last: no matter, since I feele  
 The best is past.

#### ACT IV. SCENE I

1-193 (*The Mask Scene*).

(a) One misdivision, clearly to save space.

(166) PRO. Spirit: We must prepare to meet with Caliban.

(b) Seven broken lines, of which one (43) is an independent speech, followed by a change to trochaic metre, three (12, 105, 169) are speech endings, and three, also speech endings (59, 127, 138), are cut short by appearances of the mask. Mr. Wilson does not note 12 and 43, and accepts the others as due to "the exigencies of the masque-verse."

What then is the evidence for the mask being an interpolation?

(i) I have already shown that the obstetric chronology has no necessary or obvious relation to the circumstances of 1612-13.

(ii) Mr. Wilson thinks that an earlier version of the play only had the dances of Reapers and Nymphs (138), and that the speeches and song of Iris, Ceres and Juno (60-138), together with the preliminary talk of Prospero with Ariel and Ferdinand (48-59), have been added. He argues that all this intermediate matter is inconsistent with Prospero's "incite them to quick motion" (39) and "Ay: with a twink" (43), and with Ariel's words (46-7):

Each one, tripping on his toe,  
 Will be here with mop and mow.—

"which announce the immediate advent of dancers." This seems to me fantastic literalism, even if it can be assumed that Iris and Ceres and Juno did not themselves come in with dancing measures.

Mr. Wilson goes on to explain the introduction of the intermediate matter, with its second and rather superfluous moral warning to Ferdinand, as due to the fact that Ariel "presented Ceres" (167), and therefore the actor of Ariel needed time to change his costume. As to this Dr. Greg points out that, whatever Ariel says, the parts were not necessarily doubled by the human actors; to which I may add, that "presented" need mean no more than that Ariel stage-managed the show. I do not therefore see any evidence of patching before the mask. According to the usual practice in such entertainments, speaking personages introduce the dancers. And, although I agree that the second sermon to Ferdinand is clumsy, the rest of the preliminary matter fits well enough. Ariel is told to get ready quickly, and then told (49) to delay the actual entry until Prospero gives the word; which in fact he does at 57.

(iii) Is there, then, any more convincing proof of patching after the mask? Again Mr. Wilson applies his wardrobe argument. Ariel must change his dress again, and so Prospero, although he has stopped the mask in order to be getting quickly to grips with the dangerous Caliban conspiracy, has to delay for thirteen lines of "irrelevant philosophical rhapsody" about the "insubstantial pageant" of life. Mr. Wilson suggests that in the original version Prospero's (158) "Sir, I am vexed" was a direct reply to Ferdinand's

(143) This is strange: your father's in some passion  
That works him strongly.

This, however, would not give a complete line at the juncture, and Dr. Greg reconstructs the dialogue as follows:

FERD. You do look, my lord, in a moved sort  
As if you were dismayed.  
PROS. Sir, I am vexed.

My own conviction is that these critics take Prospero's "passion" and the danger of the Caliban conspiracy much more seriously than Prospero did, that the mask was stopped because there had been enough of it for the purposes of a play, and that there has been no patching. If there has, Shakespeare's undeniable authorship of the "insubstantial pageant" passage makes the conclusion that he was the patcher inevitable.

Interpolation, if it could be shown, would however strengthen the hands of those who doubt the Shakespearean workmanship of the mask itself; from the old Cambridge editors with their unspecific

reference to "the writer who composed the masque" to Dr. Greg, who says that it is in "a very distinctive style, quite different from Shakespeare's." Fleay ascribed it to Beaumont, in whose wedding mask of 1613 Iris and the Naiades again appear. In *The Tempest* the Naiades have "sledged crowns" and Ceres has "banks with pioned and twilled brims." In the wedding mask were "four delicate fountains, running with water and bordered with sedges and water-flowers." This is extraordinarily thin. Iris, the messenger of the Gods, and the Naiades show no recondite imagination in a mask-writer. They might well serve twice in a season; it is less probable that the same writer would use them twice in the same season. Nor is it odd that two masks with nuptial themes should both allude to "blessing and increase." Mr. J. M. Robertson (*Shakespeare and Chapman*, 210; *Times Literary Supplement*, March 31, 1921) offers as alternatives Heywood, who is not likely to have written for the King's men, and Chapman, with a leaning towards Chapman, indicated by the bad rhyming, by word-clues, and by the duplication of Juno's mention of "honour" and "riches" in Chapman's own wedding mask, in which "Honour" and "Plutus (or Riches)" are in fact characters. It is suggested that Chapman had already seen Beaumont's mask and took from this some details of imagery; also that he had already seen *The Tempest*, of which there are some echoes in his wedding mask, and took from II. i. 163 the word "foison" for the interpolated mask. It is, however, to the word-clues that Mr. Robertson devotes most attention. He finds in the *Tempest* mask eighteen words (vetches, turfy, stover, pioned, twilled, brims, betrimms, broom-groves, lorn, marge, bosky, unshrubb'd, bed-right, windring, sledged, sicklemen, furrow, rye-straw) not used elsewhere by Shakespeare, and eight words or phrases (donation, crisp, leas, scandal'd, many colour'd messenger, scarcity, sunburnt, dusky), which Shakespeare only uses two or three times, sometimes in plays in which Mr. Robertson thinks that Chapman or another had a hand. Of the first group he traces three (brims, bed-rites, furrow) and of the second four (leas, scandal'd, sunburnt, dusky), together with, not "many-colour'd," but "thousand-colour'd," as an epithet of Iris, in Chapman. "This," he says, "does not amount to much." It certainly does not, in view of the commonplace character of many of the words and the frequency of once-used words in all Shakespeare's plays. It is therefore a little surprising to find Mr. Robertson reverting to

the matter and telling us (*T. L. S.*) that the vocabulary clues to Chapman are "rather striking." Such as it is, the case must be further discounted by pointing out that "brim" occurs, not once, but four times in the plays, and that "furrow" as a noun recurs in the compound "furrow-weeds." Nor is it helped by pointing out that coupled epithets and such forms as "turfy," "bosky," are very much in Chapman's manner, since they are also very much in Shakespeare's. And it is rather misleading to suggest that "spongy April" recalls the "Earth, at this spring, spongy and languorsome" of Chapman's *Amorous Zodiac*, without also noting the "spongy south" of *Cymbeline* iv. ii. 349. Iris rhymes "deity" with "society," and Chapman in the wedding mask with "piety," but in neither case is an abnormal pronunciation of "deity" involved; the rhyme is only on the last syllable.

Looking at the matter more broadly, I do not think it possible to read the dialogue of the mask side by side with Beaumont's elegant wedding mask, or Chapman's extremely cumbrous one, and to believe in any common authorship with either of them. That is an issue, not of analogies of motive, or of word-clues, but of stylistic impression, of which each critic must be the judge for himself. Nor do I see any reason to doubt that this dialogue is Shakespeare's. Certainly its manner is differentiated from that of the play itself; it had to be pitched in a different key, just as the play in *Hamlet* is pitched in a different key from that of *Hamlet* itself. But why should we look for another than Shakespeare in the "banks with pioned and twilled brims," in the "spongy April" and the "cold nymphs," in the "rich scarf to my proud earth," in "Mars' hot minion" and the "blind boy's scandal'd company"; above all, in the turn of

" thy broom-groves,  
Whose shadow the dismissed bachelor loves,  
Being lass-lorn " ?

About the song of Juno and Ceres, with its imperfect rhymes and its emptiness of content, I feel more doubtful; and if any one argues that this, taken by itself, may have been inserted by the book-keeper, to whom I have already allowed a few lines in i. ii. and ii. i., I am not inclined to resist him. Whether the book-keeper thought it worth while to call upon Chapman or anyone else for assistance, I do not know.



194-267 (*Caliban and Mariners*).

The mixture of prose and verse is analogous to that in II. ii. and III. ii.

There are five broken lines (207, 219, 234, 250, 267), all speech-endings.

#### ACT V. SCENE I. (*Reconciliation*)

(a) Mr. Wilson notes ten broken lines, "some of which may have arisen from revision." Of these eight (57, 87, 101, 103, 171, 173, 263, 281) are speech-endings, followed in one case (57) by music, in another (87) by a song, and in a third (171) by a discovery; one (299) is an extra-metrical interruption.

The tenth is more abrupt, but explicable by a change of addressee.

(61) A solemn air and the best comforter  
To an unsettled fancy cure thy brains,  
Now useless boil within thy skull : there stand,  
For you are spell-stopped.  
Holy Gonzalo, honourable man,

An eleventh, not noted by Mr. Wilson, is filled by a pause of surprise.

PROS. for I  
(148) Have lost my daughter.  
ALONSO A daughter ?

A twelfth (278), also not noted, is another extra-metrical interruption.

(b) There is one misdivision, for which any reason, other than a misprint, is hard to find.

(95) Why, that's my dainty Ariel : I shall miss  
Thee, but yet thou shalt have freedom : so, so, so.

(c) Mr. Wilson says, "The extra-metrical and detached 'No' given to Prospero at l. 130 is curious and can best be explained by a 'cut' in the text, which deprives us of the rest of the retort." It is not, however, unmetrical.

PRO. I will tell | no tales. |  
SEB. The devil | speaks in | him. No !  
PRO.

(d) Prospero says (248) :

at pickt leisure  
(Which shall be shortly single) I'll resolve you,  
(Which to you shall seem probable) of every  
These happend accidents :

It is a characteristic involution in Shakespeare's latest manner, but hardly justifies Mr. Wilson's inference that "the extreme awkwardness suggests adaptation."

Finally, Mr. Wilson notes that "this is the only occasion, apparently, in the whole canon where speakers who have concluded one scene appear again at the opening of the next. It is practically certain that some intervening scene has been deleted between iv. i. and v. i." Dr. Greg has already called attention to the analogy of *M. N. D.* III.-IV., where Hermia and Helena "sleep all the Act." In any case I doubt whether Shakespeare had any conscious practice in the matter.

#### SUMMARY

The "problem," if there is a "problem," of *The Tempest* resolves itself into three issues.

1. Is there any reason for attributing the verse of the mask to another hand than Shakespeare's?

2. Is there sufficient evidence, "bibliographical" or literary, for inferring abridgment, either to make room for the mask or for any other purpose?

3. Is there any such evidence for one or more recasts of the play as a whole?

To all three questions I give substantially negative answers. As to the first I have nothing to add to my notes on iv. i. Abridgment is claimed on five grounds: (a) the shortness of the play, (b) mute or semi-mute personages, (c) broken lines, (d) misdivision of lines, (e) incoherencies and obscurities.

##### (a) Shortness.

The play is short, and no doubt a short text is sometimes, as probably in *Macbeth*, due to abridgment. Some might argue that *The Tempest* is short because it was written for a court performance, but I have no reason for supposing that court performances were normally shorter than public performances. I would suggest, however, that in this case the length of the actual performance was sensibly increased by the songs and dumb-show episodes, of which several (III. iii. 20, 53, 83; IV. i. 138, 193, 256; V. i. 57) give opportunity for elaborate treatment.

##### (b) Mutes and Semi-mutes.

I have referred above to the sketchy treatment of Francisco, who however is required to make up an attendant for each of the

principal nobles; Alonso, who has Gonzalo, Sebastian, who has Adrian, and Anthonio. Mr. Wilson also lays stress upon the fact that no more is heard in the play of a "brave son" of Anthonio, whom Ferdinand (I. ii. 438) saw in the wreck, and thinks him a survival from an earlier version. But I doubt whether such a dropped thread is beyond Shakespeare's carelessness.

(c) *Broken Lines.*

There are forty in all. Of these twenty-eight are speech-endings, followed in fourteen cases by an entry, or discovery, or episode of mask or music, or peal of thunder, or by a transition to prose or trochaics. This is a normal phenomenon of Shakespeare's later work, in which the tendency to depart from the tyranny of the line-unit leads to medial speech endings, with the incidental result that an interruption sometimes leaves these in suspense. Six are self-contained exclamations or interjections, one (I. ii. 159) being of the "amphibious" type which serves as end to one full line and beginning to another. These also are normal. One (v. i. 148) is divided between two speakers, and filled out by a pause of astonishment. There remain five which come in mid-speech. Two (I. ii. 316; v. i. 61) are explained by a change of addressee, or alternatively in the first case by a book-keeper's insertion; one (I. ii. 195) by a pause for consideration. Only two (I. ii. 235, 253) suggest to me possible cuts, and these probably, from the context, only of small extent. The position is very different from that in *Macbeth*, with its numerous, abrupt, mid-speech, broken lines, which are, I think, evidence of substantial abridgment.

(d) *Mis-divisions.*

Blank verse lines are often wrongly divided, both by Quarto and Folio printers, and the confusion sometimes extends over a series of successive lines. In these cases there is plausibility in Mr. Wilson's explanation that a compositor might be misled by a blank verse insertion, written continuously in a margin of manuscript too narrow to allow each line to be set out at full length. Of course, a marginal insertion is not necessarily evidence of abridgment, still less of wholesale recast. It may be evidence of expansion. On the other hand, its purpose may be to join the edges of a cut. The misdivisions in *The Tempest*, however, are not, except in one case, of the serial type, and they are really very few in number, compared with those in several other Folio texts. Mr. Wilson (p. 79) says that they "abound," but, apart from the confusion between prose and

verse in certain scenes, he only notes nine examples. Of these four (I. ii. 309; II. i. 244; III. iii. 13; IV. i. 166) are merely space saving, generally by setting a speech which ends one metrical line and begins another as one print-line instead of two. One (I. ii. 361) is, I think, the sequel of a misprint. One (V. i. 95) is perhaps itself a misprint. Two, one of which is serial (II. i. 192, 195-8), may result from some trivial alteration; and one, involving two separate lines (I. ii. 301, 304), is, I think, possibly part of an insertion by the book-keeper. There is nothing here to support a theory of systematic abridgment.

(e) *Incoherencies and Obscurities.*

I have dealt with, and dismissed as trivial, in view of Shakespeare's occasional carelessness, the inconsistent replies of Miranda and the rambling pre-history of Sycorax and Caliban, both in I. ii. Nor can I attach much importance, pending a personal study of the Locatelli *scenari*, to the converging attempts of Mr. Gray and Mr. Wilson to show that some episode or episodes may have dropped out from IV. On the other hand, I think that the desire of the producer to bring in Ariel as a nymph of the sea in I. ii. and to give him a song in II. i. may have led the book-keeper to introduce a slight confusion into each of these scenes.

So much for abridgment. I come now to the question of recasts. And here I find it a little difficult to follow Mr. Wilson's theory, although I must remember that he does not profess to give a complete account of the fortunes of the *Tempest* copy. At one place (p. 79) he writes as if he regarded the mixture of prose and verse in certain scenes, and also the length of I. ii., as being further evidence of abridgment. I do not see how they can be that; and in fact, when he comes to deal with the "mixed" scenes in detail, his suggestion is clearly that these were verse-scenes "in the original unrevised play" and that "the prose or part-prose sections probably represent pages of the MS. which have undergone revision." I understand him to trace two distinct recasts. The first was when "late in his career" Shakespeare took up "an old manuscript, possibly an early play of his own," which was at any rate partly in rhyme, and revised it by getting rid of the rhyme and turning some verse passages into prose. This still left *The Tempest* "a loosely constructed drama, like *A Winter's Tale* and *Pericles*," in which Prospero's deposition, the birth of Caliban, and Claribel's voyage to Africa furnished material for pre-wreck scenes. I am assuming that

Mr. Wilson would not cite *A Winter's Tale* and *Pericles* as analogies for the form of an early play by Shakespeare, and, if so, it must have been at a second recast that he supposes the pre-wreck scenes to have been omitted and replaced by the three expositions. I am not quite clear whether any part of the general abridgment is supposed to have taken place at this stage, or whether that formed a third stage. Perhaps Mr. Wilson is not quite clear either. In any case, the mask was introduced "when the play had already taken final shape under Shakespeare's hand"; and that apparently involved further abridgment. I am, however, now only concerned with the two general recasts. For the first the evidence is:

(a) The relation of the play to *Die Schöne Sidea*. Some common source is, I think, probable; but it was not necessarily a play, and if a play, it was not necessarily in a relation of "continuous copy" to *The Tempest*.

(b) The "traces of rhymed couplets." I have noted above the four indicated by Mr. Wilson in III. i. and III. iii. He says that others occur "elsewhere." Perhaps he has in mind

- i. ii. 304      And hither come in't: go: hence  
                    With diligence.

But this is probably the book-keeper. There is also

- iv. i. 123      So rare a wonder'd father and a wise  
                    Makes this place Paradise.

Here some copies of the Folio read "wife," which Mr. Wilson may be right in regarding as an emendation. But I suppose that in Mr. Wilson's view the lines would have been an insertion with the mask. There may be others. But such accidental rhymes, whether final or internal, seem to me due to Shakespeare's carelessness or whim, and no evidence of revision.

(c) Three lines of doggerel (III. ii. 86-88) in the mouth of Trinculo are, surely, too slight a basis for any argument, although I do not think there is any other doggerel in the plays later than *Lear*, I. v. 55-56.

(d) The "mixed" passages. If Mr. Wilson's theory that these are due to partial revision of an "early" play were correct, I should expect to find the verse sections in "early" verse, and possibly in rhymed verse. But it is not so. The verse is all of a piece with that in the rest of the play, and distinctly late in manner, and if the verse, as well as the prose, belongs to the revision, then the reason

for the differentiation is still to seek. To me it presents no great difficulty. There are other examples in which Shakespeare seems to have thought a variation of medium appropriate to transitions between more and less exalted subject-matter within the same scenes.

There is nothing to bear out this supposed second recast except the length of I. ii. and the three expositions, here and in II. i. Most of the second scene "is taken up with an account of events which we may assume provided material for pre-wreck scenes in the earlier version." It is indeed an assumption. But "the expositions are there, and they tell their own tale." I think they do. They tell that Shakespeare, having a great deal of pre-history to narrate, found it less tedious to do it at thrice than at once. But I do not see how they tell Mr. Wilson's. Shakespeare, at the end of his career, took it into his head to vary the loose construction of such plays as *A Winter's Tale* and *Pericles* by a final experiment on the lines of temporal unity. He reverted to the method of preliminary exposition which he had employed long ago for a similar theme in the *Comedy of Errors*. Why should we "assume" that he put himself to the superfluous trouble of first writing *The Tempest* as a loose romance, and then converting it to unity? The break with his immediate past would have been no less deliberate.



NOTES IN CORRECTION OF THE TEXT OF  
WORDSWORTH'S *PRELUDE*

BY E. DE SELINCOURT

It is a matter of common knowledge that though Wordsworth finished his first draft of the *Prelude* in 1805, and from time to time during the rest of his life worked at revising the text, he never published it. The poem first saw the light some few months after his death, and was seen through the press by his secretary, John Carter—probably with some help from his nephew Christopher, for the Preface is dated from Rydal Mount, July 13, 1850, and Christopher Wordsworth was staying at Rydal during that month. The text of the poem, therefore, was liable to errors which its author might have detected had he been alive.

Since the biographical importance and the poetic value of the *Prelude* have come to be more fully realised, various scholars have called attention to faults in the text, and suggested emendations to them. But their emendations could only be conjectural, for they had no opportunity of consulting the MSS., nor, indeed, were they aware of the existence of any MSS. to consult.

As a matter of fact, there are five almost complete MSS. of the *Prelude* (A, B, C, D, E), now in the possession of the poet's grandson, Mr. Gordon Wordsworth, and I have been privileged to examine them. They can be variously dated from 1805 down to 1839, when the last MS. (E) was reviewed. A, B, and D contain many corrections, but E, which is in the handwriting of the poet's daughter Dora, is almost a fair copy, and, from marks upon it, can be proved to be the copy which passed through the printer's hands. My examination of it, and my comparison of it with the earlier MSS., enables me in several places to correct the printed text of 1850. Some of my corrections are new: others have been anticipated by the conjectures of scholars, in particular of Mr. Nowell Smith and

Professor Garrod, and it is pleasant to be able to corroborate their emendations, and pay a tribute to the fineness of their literary insight and their acuteness as textual critics.

I am at present engaged upon the production of a *variorum* edition of the *Prelude* which will enable students of Wordsworth to see, as they have long desired to see, the poem as it was when it was read to Coleridge on his return from Malta, and to trace the development of this text to its final form. In the meantime, they will be glad to correct some of the errors that occur in the edition of 1850.

I. 326-8.

Nor less when spring had warmed the cultured vale,  
Moved we as plunderers where the mother bird  
Had in high places built her lodge ;

For "Moved" read "Roved." The mistake is due to the fact that the copyist of E wrote her "M's" and "R's" almost alike. In D the "R" is unmistakable.

I. 369-72.

I fixed my view  
Upon the summit of a craggy ridge,  
The horizon's utmost boundary : far above  
Was nothing but the stars and the grey sky.

For "far" read "for," as Mr. Nowell Smith conjectured. "For" is the reading of all the MSS. except E, where it is clearly a copyist's error.

I. 398-400.

But huge and mighty forms, that do not live  
Like living men, moved slowly through the mind  
By day, and were a trouble to my dreams.

Mr. Garrod in the *Times Literary Supplement* for April 4, 1922, suggested that these lines should be punctuated thus :

But huge and mighty forms that do not live,  
Like living men moved slowly through the mind, etc.

The two last MSS., D and E, are punctuated as the 1850 text : the three earlier ones, A, B, and C, have no commas after "forms," "live," or "men." This would support Mr. Garrod's interpretation of the passage, for the natural pause at the end of a line would connect the word "live" with what preceded rather than with what followed it. Moreover, in all the MSS. there is a tendency to omit stops at the end of a line. It is, perhaps, only right to mention that in an extant version of the passage still earlier than

THE TEXT OF WORDSWORTH'S *PRELUDE* 153

A there are commas as in 1850 ; but as they are in a much blacker ink than the text, and were clearly added at a later date, they do not necessarily represent Wordsworth's intention when he wrote the passage.

- II. 89-91.           Hence rustic dinners on the cool green ground,  
Or in the woods, or by a river side  
Or shady fountains,

Hutchinson, and others following him, have read here "river's side" (which Wordsworth would never have written) and "fountain's"; for "fountains" is obviously incorrect. The right readings are "river side" and "fountain." E reads "fountains" through mistaking a large comma in D after "fountain" for an "s," and 1850 copied E.

- II. 98.                               the courteous inn-keeper.

So E, but "courteous" is a copyist's error for "cautious," the more suitable epithet found in D.

- II. 145-8.           In ancient times, and ere the Hall was built  
On the large island, had this dwelling been  
More worthy of a poet's love, a hut,  
Proud of its own bright fire and sycamore shade.

For "and ere" read "or ere," and for "own" read "one." Both are copyist's errors in E. All previous MSS. read "or" and "one."

- II. 352-8.                               'Twere long to tell  
What spring and autumn, what the winter snows,  
And what the summer shade, what day and night,  
Evening and morning, sleep and waking, thought  
From sources inexhaustible, poured forth  
To feed the spirit of religious love  
In which I walked with Nature.

For "waking, thought" read "waking thought." The punctuation of 1850 is a mistake of E's, as can be seen from a study of the development of the passage. A, B, C read "what my dreams And what my waking thoughts," D reads "sleep and waking thought," corrected to "dreams and waking thought,".

- III. 136-42.           Add that whate'er of Terror or of Love  
Or Beauty, Nature's daily face put on  
From transitory passion, unto this  
I was as sensitive as waters are  
To the sky's influence in a kindred mood  
Of passion; was obedient as a lute  
That waits upon the touches of the wind.

The punctuation here is obviously wrong. The first version of the passage ran :

To the sky's motion ; in a kindred sense  
Of passion was obedient, *etc.*

and when, in D, "motion" was changed to "influence," the semicolon was strengthened into a colon. But E put commas after both "influence" and "passion," and the semicolon after passion was a further mistake made by 1850.

III. 269.

noble.

So E, 1850. "Nobler," which is obviously correct, is the reading of all previous MSS.

III. 278-81.

Beside the pleasant Mill of Trumpington  
I laughed with Chaucer in the hawthorn shade ;  
Heard him, while birds were warbling, tell his tales  
Of amorous passion.

A is obviously correct in placing the semicolon after "Chaucer," and not after "shade." The first stage in the degeneration of the text was in B, followed by C and D, who have a comma after Chaucer and no stop after "shade." E reverses this, and 1850 completes the mistake, as recorded above.

III. 390-8.

Youth should be awed, religiously possessed  
With a conviction of the power that waits  
On knowledge, when sincerely sought and prized  
For its own sake, on glory and on praise  
If but by labour won, and fit to endure  
The passing day ; should learn to put aside  
Her trappings here, should strip them off abashed  
Before antiquity and stedfast truth  
And strong book-mindedness.

Mr. Garrod is quite correct in his conjecture that there should be a full stop after "endure" and no stop after "passing day." So read all the MSS. before E. E originally had no stop after either "endure" or "day," but obviously intended a full stop after "endure." Unfortunately E often omits its full stops. When it does this in the middle of a line the following capital prevents the possibility of misunderstanding, whilst even when the stop is forgotten at the end of the line the sense generally supplies it. But here is an unfortunate exception, and finding the passage without punctuation a later hand added to E a comma after "day." Hence the error in 1850.

III. 604-5.

Feuds, factions, flatteries, enmity, and guile  
Murmuring submission, and bald government.

All MSS. before E have a semicolon after "guile." The punctuation of E and 1850, "guile Murmuring submission," is certainly an improvement in the sense, but I am afraid that Wordsworth did not intend it.

IV. 50-1. Nor that unruly child of mountain birth,  
The famous brook,

So E and 1850. But the brook was not "famous." All previous MSS. read "froward"; "famous" is clearly E's error in copying.

IV. 339-40. Strange rendez-vous! My mind was at that time  
A parti-coloured show of grave and gay.

But no rendez-vous has been mentioned; so punctuated the passage has little meaning. MSS. A-D read:

Strange rendez-vous my mind was at that time,  
A parti-coloured show of grave and gay,

E omits the comma after "time," and then 1850, finding the line unpunctuated, interpolates the note of exclamation.

V. 166-73. Great and benign, indeed, must be the power  
Of living nature, which could thus so long  
Detain me from the best of other guides  
And dearest helpers, left unthanked, unpraised,  
Even in the time of lisping infancy;  
And later down, in prattling childhood even,  
While I was travelling back among those days,  
How could I ever play an ingrate's part?

Mr. Nowell Smith has already pointed out that this punctuation must be wrong. The reading of A gives us the clue:

Mighty indeed, supreme, must be the power  
Of living Nature, which could thus so long  
Detain me from the best of other thoughts.  
Even in the time of lisping Infancy,  
And later down, in prattling Childhood, even  
While I was travelling back among those days,  
How could I ever play an ingrate's part?

V. 523-33.

Ye dreamers, then,  
Forgers of daring tales! we bless you then,  
Impostors, drivellers, dotards, as the ape  
Philosophy will call you: then we feel  
With what, and how great power ye are in league,  
Who make our wish, our power, our thought a deed,  
An empire, a possession,—ye whom time  
And seasons serve, all Faculties to whom  
Earth crouches, the elements are potter's clay,  
Space like a heaven filled up with northern lights,  
Here, nowhere, there, and everywhere at once.

A-C read correctly "Who make our wish our power, our thought a deed." D reads "our wish our power, our thought, our deed." E omits all stops. In l. 530, A reads also correctly, "And Seasons serve; all Faculties; to whom," and D emphasises this meaning by reading "all Faculties;—to whom." E omits all stops from the line, and 1850 whilst restoring the semicolon after "serve," omitted the equally important one after "Faculties."

VI. 30-1.

This spurious virtue, rather let it bear  
A name it now deserves, this cowardice.

All MSS. read "more" for "now"; "now" is a misprint.

VI. 54.

hitherto but lightly touched

So 1850 and all MSS. But as such fine textual scholars as Hutchinson, Nowell Smith, and Moore Smith, all read "slightly," it seems worth while to call attention to the correct reading.

VII. 160-4.

Here, fronts of houses, like a title-page,  
With letters huge inscribed from top to toe,  
Stationed above the door, like guardian saints;  
There, allegoric shapes, female or male,  
Or physiognomies of real men.

The punctuation is obviously incorrect, and to elucidate the passage "C. W. B.," in a recent number of the *Times Literary Supplement*, suggested that lines 162 and 163 were in their wrong order. But Mr. Nowell Smith had already suggested the true solution. In A, B, C, and E the semicolon (in D a colon) is placed, not after "saints," but after "toe." This gives the required sense.

X. 304-5.

In which worst losses easily might wean  
The best of names.

All MSS. read "wear," which is obviously correct. But in E the "r" easily might be mistaken for an "n."

X. 404, 407.

innocent victims . . . struggling with fond mirth.

Both D and E read "forced," but in E it is so written that it might be misread "fond." Hence the error in 1850.

X. 420-1.

But, O Power Supreme!  
Without Whose call this world would cease to breathe,

D reads "care" for "call," but the tops of the "r" and "e" are joined on to the bottom of letters in the previous line, so that the word could easily be mistaken for "call." But "care" is what Wordsworth wrote, or dictated.



- XI. 8-14. The Senate's language, and the public acts  
And measures of the Government, though both  
Weak, and of heartless omen, had not power  
To daunt me ; in the People was my trust ;  
And, in the virtues which mine eyes had seen,  
I knew that wound external could not take  
Life from the young Republic :

Several editors have noticed that something has gone wrong with the punctuation here ; and Hutchinson boldly put a full stop after " seen " (18), removing the comma in the same line after " And." This gives the required sense. The error in 1850 is due to the development of the reading. In A the passage runs :

The language of the Senate and the acts  
And public measures of the Government,  
Though both of heartless omen, had not power  
To daunt me ; in the people was my trust  
And in the virtues which mine eyes had seen,  
And to the ultimate repose of things  
I look'd with unabated confidence ;  
I knew. *etc.*

C omits the last two lines "And to . . . confidence," but omits to change the comma after "seen" into a semicolon. E omits even the comma. 1850 reconstructs the punctuation in its own way.

- XI. 328-33. But turned to abstract science, and there sought  
Work for the reasoning faculty enthroned  
Where the disturbances of space and time—  
Whether in matters various, properties  
Inherent, or from human will and power  
Derived—find no admission.

Mr. Garrod has already made the brilliant emendation "matter's various properties," which turns out to be correct. The passage is an addition to the original text, and is first found in E in the form "matters various attributes," "attributes" being crossed out in favour of "properties." But "matters" is written in E without the possessive apostrophe. The editor of 1850, puzzled by "matters various properties," added a comma after "various," which has no MS. authority. One should remark that in several other places in the poem E has omitted the possessive apostrophe.

- XIV. 239-46. in spite  
Of all that unassisted I had marked  
In life or nature of those charms minute  
That win their way into the heart by stealth  
(Still to the very going-out of youth)  
I too exclusively esteemed *that* love,  
And sought *that* beauty, which, as Milton sings,  
Hath terror in it.

Mr. Nowell Smith has already called attention to the faulty punctuation of this passage. It is explained by a change in the text, which originally ran :

And spite of all that singly I had watch'd  
Of elegance and each minuter charm  
In nature or in life, still to the last  
(Even from the very going-out of youth,  
The period which our Story now hath reach'd)  
I too exclusively, *etc.*

So D. Then D alters the passage to the words found 1850, but after changing " Even " to " Still " forgets to remove the bracket before it, and then, noticing a bracket after the deleted line " The period . . . reach'd " moves it up to follow " youth." The punctuation should be :

by stealth,  
Still, to the very going-out of youth,  
I loved, *etc.*

XIV. 272-5.

Even as one essence of pervading light  
Shines, in the brightest of ten thousand stars,  
And, the meek worm that feeds her lonely lamp  
Couched in the dewy grass.

As Mr. Nowell Smith has pointed out, this punctuation makes nonsense. The MSS. have no comma after either " shines " or " And."

## EARLY DUTCH SECULAR DRAMA

BY A. W. REED

SOME admirable essays in English verse-rendering \* recently issued by a Dutch publisher, merit the attention of English readers. They are translations of mediæval plays of the Low Countries of particular interest as very early examples of a drama secular or romantic rather than moral and religious in character. Since the recovery of Henry Medwall's play of *Fulgens and Lucrez*, in 1919, at the sale of the Mostyn books at Sotheby's, many have been curious to know more of what the Continent has to show of a secular drama earlier than Medwall, who was writing under the patronage of Cardinal Morton in the last decade of the fifteenth century. Two of the plays that we are going to consider, *Lancelot of Denmark* and *Esmoreit*, have come down to us in a manuscript that belongs to the early years of the same century, but they were written, it is believed, in the last years of the fourteenth century, and are therefore of late Chaucerian date. They were probably done by a Brabander while Hubert van Eyck was serving his novitiate in art at Maestricht in the adjoining province of Limburg. Or, again, they are approximately contemporary with the French play mentioned by Warton in a note on the *Clerkes Tale*, "Le Mystere de Griseildis Marquise de Saluces," which bears the date 1393.

In tracing the story of secular drama in the Middle Ages it is convenient to begin with this dramatisation of the story of Griselda.

\* i. *A Beautiful Play of Lancelot of Denmark. How he fell in love with a lady who waited upon his mother.* Translated from the Middle Dutch by Dr. P. GEYL. 1924. Pp. ix.+49. 3s. 6d. ii. *An Ingenious Play of Esmoreit, the King's son of Sicily.* Translated from the Middle Dutch by HARRY MORGAN AYRES, with an Introduction by ADRIAAN J. BARNOUW. 1924. Pp. xxxi.+58. 3s. 6d. iii. *A Marvellous History of Mary of Nimmegen, who for more than seven years lived and had ado with the Devil.* Translated from the Middle Dutch by HARRY MORGAN AYRES, with an Introduction by ADRIAAN J. BARNOUW. 1924. Pp. xxv.+78. 3s. 6d. (*The Dutch Library.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff; London: Gyldendal, 10-12, Orange Street, W.C.2.)

It was a popular story. In his old age Petrarch at Padua had rendered Boccaccio's tale into Latin, and there is no good reason for rejecting Chaucer's hint that he had it at Padua from Petrarch himself the year before the old poet died (1374)—

I wol you tell a tale which that I  
Lernid at Padow of a worthy clerke  
Frauncis Petrarch, the laureate poete.

In the Royal Library at Brussels is an early fifteenth-century manuscript named after a former owner the Hulthem codex. It contains ten dramatic pieces, six of which are short *sotties* of a frankly comic kind, and four are longer serious plays described as *abele spelen*. These four plays are, writes Dr. Geyl, "the earliest example in European Literature (with the doubtful exception of the French *Estoire de Griseldis*) of serious drama of a purely secular interest." They are an *estриф* between Summer and Winter, and three chivalric or romantic plays: *Esmoreit*, *Gloriant*, and *Lancelot of Denmark*. A single complete performance consisted, it seems, of an *abel spel* followed at once by its farce. Thus at the end of the Epilogue of *Esmoreit* the audience was addressed:

Rest ye merry as in this case  
And let none homeward go his way  
For a sottie we straight shall play  
Which is well short I would ye to weet.  
Who hath hunger, let him go eat;  
Go ye down by this stairway  
And it likes you come ye to-morrow day.

In his translation of *Esmoreit* Mr. Ayres has achieved a notable success. He has won the applause of his collaborator, Mr. Barnouw, a most accurate scholar, by a rendering that has also an archaic appropriateness only possible to one steeped in our own early dramatic verse.

The motif of *Esmoreit* is that of *A Winter's Tale* in a simpler form. There is a Sicilian king, a mother wronged and imprisoned, a child exposed to become a foundling, the romance of this child *Esmoreit* and the princess Damiette in distant Damascus, and finally the "redintegration." The play opens with a Prologue:

There was a king of yesteryear  
In Sicily he kept his state  
And had a child to his delight;  
But near him dwelt a wretched wight  
Robert by name his brother's son.

The king is old, Robert has designs on the crown, he secures the

child and slanders the queen. We move to Mahommedan lands, where the king of Damascus, troubled by portents, is warned by his counsellor—the Master—of the birth of a Christian child who shall be his undoing. The Master buys the child from Robert, saving it from death, and carries it to Damascus, where it is entrusted as a foundling to the king's young daughter, Damiette. The old king of Sicily is persuaded by Robert that the queen has destroyed the child and is meditating his own death. After a scene of cruel abuse and patient endurance the queen is cast into prison. Eighteen years pass. Esmoreit overhears Damiette lamenting that he is a foundling and unworthy of her hand. He sets out to solve the mystery of his parentage, and at Damiette's request binds on his head as a mark his swaddling band. This is recognised by the queen as he passes her prison bars, and her release follows. Urged by Damiette, the Master sets out with her to follow Esmoreit, and his evidence convicts Robert. *Stage Direction*: "Robbrecht hanct men hier" ("Here they hang Robert"). Esmoreit is a good play, but it has a loose end; we hear no more of the Herod motif of the danger to an Eastern potentate arising from the birth of a Christian child. The farce that follows shows the stupid *Lippijn* outwitted by his *liederliche Frau*. She persuades him that his suspicions are baseless; he acknowledges error, expresses regret, is shrewishly chidden, and the farce ends in a cudgelling scene. The *abel spel* has 1019 lines, the *sotternie* 139. Professor Barnouw's introduction deals with the sources and analogues, with the problems of presentation and construction, and with the general significance of the work of the Hulthem poet. He finds that *Esmoreit* has affinities with the French *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, which in their turn embody episodes and situations derived from the Romances.

The second of the plays of chivalrous adventure tells the story of the young Duke Gloriant of Braunschweig. It has not yet been translated by Mr. Ayres, and we look to him to make good this deficiency. Gloriant, like Benedick, was determined not to take a wife. The pagan king's daughter Florentijn sends him her picture. He falls in love, sets out on horseback, finds her in the royal garden, and plans to carry her off to his own land. Their meeting is betrayed to King Roedelion by a jealous cousin, Floerant. The king is the enemy of all Christians, particularly Christians of the Braunschweig stock. He had lost his own father and uncle in battle against the father and uncle of Gloriant; he therefore cast the two

lovers into prison. The old servant, however, who had taken the maiden's picture to Gloriant contrives his escape, and the lover rescues his lady just as she was about to be burnt at the stake.

The third of the *abele spelen* of the Hulthem codex, *Lancelot of Denmark*, has been translated by Professor P. Geyl, of University College, London, and it is high testimony to the interest and adequacy of his rendering that he was encouraged to make it public by the late W. P. Ker. At the outset we see Lancelot tortured by his "love-longing" for Sanderijn, a maiden of lower degree, who will not barter her maidenhood with one she cannot marry—

Though he should give her for his love  
A thousand marks of sterling gold.

His mother, upbraiding him for his compunction, offers to procure the girl if her son undertakes to shame her by a show of indifference when he has had his will. Sanderijn, sent by the mother—her mistress—to the sick room of the son, falls into the trap. Shamed and cast-off, she is found at a fountain in a forest clearing by a knight hunting, who, struck by her beauty, entreats her love. She relates a fable of a fair tree full of blossom and of a falcon that tore off one bloom.

If now a falcon nobly born  
From high upon the tree flew down  
And picked one flower, only one,  
Would you therefore hate the tree?  
"Fair lady," the knight replied, "I understand you well  
Nor will I hate the tree therefore."

Stricken with shame and remorse Lancelot sends out his chamberlain, Reynald, to seek and bring back Sanderijn—

Tell her thou heardst from mine own mouth  
I will marry her spite of my kindred all.

In the forest he meets the knight's forest-ranger, a humorous fellow, and learns that Sanderijn is wedded. For two pieces of gold the ranger undertakes to bring her to the fountain. She bids Reynald return to his master and relate to him the allegory of the falcon and the flower. He returns, tells the fable, but falsely reports that Sanderijn is dead. The remorseful Lancelot mourns her and dies—

Oh Sanderijn the bough was you  
And I the falcon that took one flower.

The play closes with an Epilogue spoken by Reynald, who, after



exhorting the audience, "lords and ladies, women and men," ever to deal courteously and keep faith in love, introduces the farce—

Now for your silence once more I pray  
The first play is finished, and if we may  
A farce for you we now will play.

But which of the six farces of the codex is meant to follow *Lancelot of Denmark* is a matter of uncertainty.

The poet of the Hulthem plays was a Brabander, and it is probable that all are his, yet none of them affords us any indication of his identity. Our knowledge of early dramatic literature is limited by the fact that comparatively little of it has survived; yet we may consider him on such evidence as we possess as a notable innovator. "He is," says Dr. Barnouw, "not only the first known writer of secular drama, but the first known dramatist in the literature of the Netherlands." It is much to be hoped that the editors will be encouraged to return to the Hulthem plays and add to The Dutch Library translations of *Summer and Winter* and *Gloriant*. Meanwhile they have done the right thing in adding to *Lancelot* and *Esmoreit*, as a third volume, a remarkably skilful rendering of "one of the gems of Dutch mediæval literature," the miracle play of the *Marvellous History of Mary of Nimmegen*, who for more than seven years lived and had ado with the devil. "If in the romantic playlets of *Esmoreit* and *Lancelot*," to quote from Dr. Barnouw again, "a faint reflection is seen of courtly manners imported from France, in *Mary of Nimmegen* the everyday life of the Netherlands burghers is astir on the stage." We get a glimpse of the simple household of a village priest, we are admitted to the low life of an Antwerp tavern, we watch the folk of Nimmegen at a performance of the mystery of *Maskeroon* on a pageant-wain in the market place, and see women taking a violent interest in the politics of the day. It is a lively picture of Dutch life in the last decade of the fifteenth century.

The play was printed by William Vorsterman, of Antwerp, about 1520, and Dr. Barnouw makes the interesting suggestion that the prose passages which alternate with the dramatic dialogue may have been introduced in an experimental way in what was then still something of a novelty, a printed play. The prose interpolations were meant not only to give to the reading narrative coherence, but to supply something of what was lost by not witnessing an actual

presentation. The prose therefore has a special value as reflecting the writer's recollections of the play as he had seen it staged. It has something of the significance of a body of modern stage-directions.

The author was a poet and rhetorician of no mean order, and whilst his vigour, point and movement call for like qualities in his translator, his ingeniously rhymed praise of rhetoric is a test yet more severe. It is not easy to speak of Mr. Ayres' success without an appearance of exaggeration. He has preserved the metrical character of the original ingeniously in a rendering that might almost have come out of the sixteenth century.

A word as to the story before we close: The old priest, Sir Gysbrecht, sends his niece Mary to Nimmegen for provisions. It grows dark, her aunt refuses her shelter, and she sets out to walk home. She grows dispirited, rests under a hedge, and is accosted by the Devil in the shape of *Moonen with the single eye*, an ingratiating fellow who undertakes to teach her the seven liberal arts and all the secrets of necromancy, if she will but change her name Mary to Lisbeth, Lena or Gretchen, and refrain from crossing herself. She sets little store by crossing herself, but as her hope and trust had ever been in the Virgin she insists on retaining at least the M; she becomes Emmekin. The old priest in his bereavement devotes himself to the service of Our Lady; the ill-favoured aunt takes her life because of a change in the political situation. [One must assume that the author was no friend of the old dame's faction—the party of a deposed Duke.] Emma and Moonen live a low life of merriment and feasting among the tipplers of Antwerp who, when Emma entertains them with a "ballat" in praise of

Rhetoric, sweet theoric and comfortable,

gather round her with a great press of folk. Moonen kindles strife among the audience and some are slain. "Thus Emma and Moonen lived at Antwerp at the sign of the Golden Tree in the market, where daily of his contrivings were many murders and slayings together with every sort of wickedness." After six years of this evil life Emma was minded to return to see her uncle, and she and Moonen journey to Nimmegen. It was Procession Day when the play of *Maskeroon* was annually presented. Unwillingly Moonen consents to her seeing the performance. Maskeroon, Lucifer's advocate, appeals to God to extend to the poor

spirits in eternal damnation the pity and grace He shows to vile humanity.

We poor spirits who have nought misdone  
Save for one brief presumptuous thought  
We be to the abyss down brought  
Hopeless in everlasting pain.

For their stubbornness in evil God threatens mankind with the like fate, but Our Lady pleads for erring humanity. Thus is Emma filled with remorse. Moonen seizes her, carries her high into the air. She falls, is found in a swoon by a burgher and recognised by the old priest, her uncle, who, we are told, had seen her fall. No priest of Nimmegen dared to absolve her, nor even the Bishop of Cologne, who heard her confession, so she journeyed with her uncle to Rome. The Pope gave her three rings of iron to be worn on neck and arms until they wore away and fell. Thus weighed down she was led to Maestricht to the cloister of the Converted Sinners, and there did such strong penance that God's angel at last removed the irons while she slept.

And go ye to Maestricht, an ye be able  
And in the Converted Sinners shall ye see  
The grave of Emma, and there all three  
The rings be hung above her grave.

On Sunday, February 22, two of these plays, *Lancelot of Denmark* and *Mary of Nimmegen*, were produced in London at Maskelyne's Theatre by the International Theatre Society before a full house of subscribers. The production confirmed one's opinion that the author of *Lancelot* was a poet and dramatist of remarkable tact and skill. The play would produce well in any period on its own merits as a dramatic poem. *Mary of Nimmegen* has the turbulence of burgher life in early Tudor days, and calls for a producer who can think in terms of a market-place audience of the age of Erasmus. The adventures and troubles of a feminine Faust are necessarily interesting, but they indicate no essential quality in maidenhood; rather they suggest the spirit of rebelliousness that marked the early Renaissance. On the other hand, the poet who created Sanderijn had the same insight into the female heart as distinguishes the creator of Pamela and Clarissa.

## THE SUSPECTED REVELS BOOKS

By D. T. B. WOOD

IN my previous article in January I explained how I had convinced myself, in spite of personal prejudice, that Sir William Musgrave was the writer of the *Malone Scrap*. I surrendered slowly and reluctantly, and for that reason the more completely. I was unfortunate perhaps in selecting for reproduction and comparison with the *Scrap* a carefully written official letter of Musgrave. There is in the facsimiles at first sight a certain general dissimilarity in appearance, as has been suggested by one or two experts; however exact is the similarity of forms of individual letters, it is better therefore to show a close general agreement with Musgrave's scribbled hand.

As material for comparison, reference may be made to the pencilled notes by Musgrave on every folio of Add. MSS. 5750-5756 (British Museum). Attention may be directed more particularly to Add. MSS. 5750, f. 76, and 5753, f. 70, for the closest resemblance.

Sir William Musgrave, sixth Bart., was born at Hayton Castle, in Cumberland, in 1735. He was Commissioner of Customs from 1763 to 1785, and Commissioner for Auditing Public Accounts from 1785 till his death in 1800. He became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1774, and a Vice-President in 1786. He was also from 1783 a Trustee of the British Museum. It is not surprising that, within a few years of his appointment to the Audit Office, he found and brought to Malone's notice the Revels Books as a whole. In 1791 Malone visited him and inspected the Books, but in his notes makes no mention of that for 1604-5, from which the *Scrap* is extracted. What is more probable than that Musgrave found and copied that Book and sent the extract to Malone some time between the date of Malone's visit to the Audit Office and Musgrave's death in 1800?

There is a faint support for this supposition in a P.S. to a letter of Musgrave to Malone found by Mr. Percy Simpson in the Bodleian Library, dated Dec. 2, 1799 (Malone MS. 27, f. 15), in which he says: "I enclose a Memorandum about a MS. which you have probably met with already—if not it may furnish matter for some of your illustrations of Shakespear." This is indeed evidence of Musgrave's continued interest in Malone's investigations till his death and of the likeliness of his having sent him a note from the Revels Books; but it would be quite unsafe to assume the identity of the memorandum with the *Scrap*.

We may, then, conclude that the Revels Book for 1604-5 at least, and probably those for 1611-12 and 1636, the three volumes under suspicion, existed in their present form in the place where, if genuine, they might be expected to be, at any rate before 1800. They were found in the same place in 1834 by Peter Cunningham, a newly appointed official, and were published by him with other Revels Books in 1842. So far their pedigree is unimpeachable. The same ex-official in producing them for sale, two to the Trustees of the British Museum and one to a dealer, in 1868, and asserting that they were his property, (in the absence of the *Malone Scrap*, only discovered by Halliwell-Phillipps in the Bodleian in 1880,) first threw discredit on their authenticity. That discovery did not by itself remove from them the stigma of forgery, but the identification of Sir William Musgrave as the writer of the *Scrap* weighs heavily in their favour. They must be judged now by their external appearance and internal evidence like any other document that is to be tested. The internal evidence I leave to others; the external appearance I will now briefly touch upon.

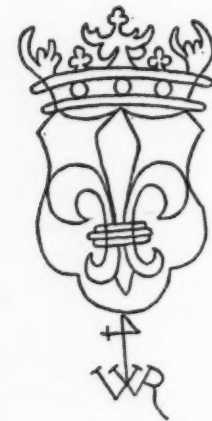
It may be pointed out, for those who do not know, that the so-called "Books" are single gatherings of a few leaves; the lists occupy a single leaf in each, and the accounts which follow are a very small affair.

I proceed first to examine watermarks of the paper and the arrangement of the gatherings. The watermarks of the 1604-5 Book and of the 1611-12 Book are in each case the same throughout, and both gatherings appear to be made up without any possibility of later insertion.

I have myself easily identified both marks in Briquet, and I am indebted to Mr. Heawood, Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society, for the following more exact notes of their use.

No. 1. A common mark for a considerable time from about 1585, probably first used at Strassburg, as shown by the initials of Wendelin Richel of that city below the shield. Later it was much copied, and is known to have been used by an Angoulême maker in 1628.

No. 2. A mark used at Monbéliard by several makers. That town was then a dependency of Würtemberg, which accounts for the use of the Würtemberg arms. Before 1600 it occurs without letters below, but in the first twelve years of the seventeenth century



No. 1.

Watermark of the 1604-5 Book.



No. 2.

Watermark of the 1611-12 Book.

the initials of I[acques] F[oillet or olliet] are found. They can hardly have been used alone after 1612, when he went into partnership with Gerson Binningen and another. Few documents could have their paper vouched for more exactly than this.

The marks are therefore all in favour of the 1604-5 and 1611-12 Books being written on genuine paper of the period. This makes interpolation impossible except on a blank leaf.

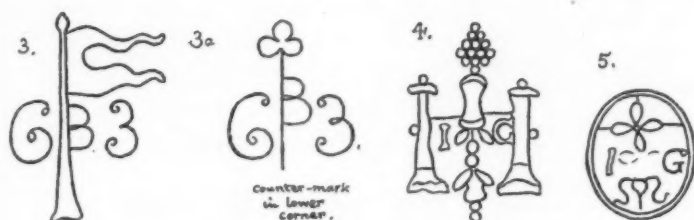
The 1636 Book is really three documents on three separate sheets, each with a different watermark, all well-known seventeenth-century marks, an almost identical specimen of one of them being found in Sir Thomas Herbert's *Travels* published in 1634. In this case



interpolation would have been possible, but the paper in any case is of the period of the document.

It is inconceivable that a later forger should have been able to make up complete gatherings of paper for his purpose. The accounts as a whole must be genuine, and any criticism must be directed to the lists of plays alone.

The chemical composition of the ink has been tested at the National Laboratory and adjudged to be all of the same date and all ancient. If we accept this, *cadit questio*, no modern forgery is



Watermarks of the 1636 Book.

possible, but no layman likes to submit his judgment entirely to the expert. It is fair to point out that curious and apparently unnecessary alterations and erasures occur in a different ink from that of the lists, and that these occur only in the lists and not in the accounts. The ink as a whole has faded dark grey, but the ink of the corrections and erasures has faded light brown. It may be noted, however, that the signatures both of Edmund Tilney and Sir George Buck, as Masters of the Revels, have just the same light brown tint. They may have both run a perfunctory pen over the scandalously careless writing of their subordinate. The Clerk of the Revels, who as appears from the documents themselves was technically responsible for writing them, was William Honyngs, 2nd son of William Honyngs of Carlton, Co. Suffolk, clerk of the Privy Council. He signs both books but need not himself have written them.

The worst point against the ink is what I have called the "woolly" appearance of the 1604-5 list—it gives very much the idea of ink blotted with blotting-paper and not sanded. I am told that under the microscope it reveals itself to be laid on quite thick like paint and cracked in the same way. This is perhaps the explanation.

The handwriting has on close examination a number of discrepancies in forms of letters and use of gothic forms where italic are required, corrections, erasures, and vagaries of spelling. I will endeavour briefly to enumerate those which occur in the 1604-5 and 1611-12 lists:—

*The Plaiers names.* The word *names* erased in light ink.

*Called.* Spelt in various places *Caled* and *Cauled*. In the 1611-12 list nearly always *Caled* altered in light ink to *Called*.

N.B. the *C*'s and final *d*'s in this word are quite inconsistent; cf. also the *d*'s of *Shaxberd* and *Heywood* in juxtaposition.

*The poets w<sup>h</sup> mayd the plaies.* *w<sup>h</sup>* unusual form for *w<sup>th</sup>*.

*Mefur for Mesur.* Note two forms of *s*.

*St. Jhons night.* *h* crushed in.

*A Tragide of the Spanish Maz.* *Tragide* altered in light ink to *Tragidyde*.

*Y<sup>e</sup> Winter's Nightes Tayle.* Gothic instead of italic.

*A King and no king.* *A* added in light ink. First *g* italic, second *g* gothic.

*for a price.* Altered in light ink to *prize*.

*High[ness].* Added in light ink.

*The Siluer Aiedg.* Unusual spelling of *Age*.

*Lucrc.* Altered to *Lucr<sup>e</sup>c* in light ink.

*Tu Coque for Tu Quoque.*

The spelling *Shaxberd*, even though authority for it is to be found at Stratford, is difficult to swallow unless the clerk were country-bred. There are other curious spellings which I have omitted to notice, but there is enough to show that the lists not only in appearance but in handwriting are the work of a careless and ignorant scribe.

Though there is ample room on the pages for the list to be carefully written, the lines are often crushed against one another and against the sides. It may, however, be suggested that the words in large letters at the beginning of each entry were written in first and cramped the space left for the words following.

It may further be noted that Cunningham in 1842 printed the documents with the alterations, etc., but on the other hand omitted a whole paragraph preceding the first list.

I must own that, without the *Malone Scrap* and the identification

of its writer, I should have been tempted to investigate these documents with a bias for forgery ; but with it, it is difficult to construct any reasonable theory by which it would have been possible.

Let us return now to the history of the Audit Office and of the two officials who were concerned in this little drama ; and of the documents they dealt with.

From 1559 to 1785 the office was called the Office of the Auditors of the Imprests. These were two in number. In 1785 they were replaced by five, afterwards ten, Commissioners for Auditing the Public Accounts. In 1834 the office received the name of the Audit Office, Somerset House, but the Commissioners existed till 1867, when the present Exchequer and Audit Department was created.

Now Sir William Musgrave became one of the above Commissioners in 1785 ; Peter Cunningham was appointed to the Audit Office in 1834 ; and Peter Cunningham tried to sell the documents in 1868.

The documents first appear in the hands of their lawful custodian, Sir William Musgrave, soon after 1785 ; they are found again in 1834 by Peter Cunningham, a newly appointed official in the same office ; they appear again in his hands in 1868.

The curious coincidence of dates between the appearances of the documents and drastic reorganisations of the office is noteworthy. If Cunningham had remained an official till 1867 the pedigree would have been complete ; but he retired in 1860. Nevertheless it is conceivable that the reorganisation of 1867 may have had something to do with the reappearance of the documents. For this reason. The Revels Books, as we now have them, are in two series, 1571-1588 and 1604-1670. The 1604-5 and 1611-12 Books are the first two of the second series. Now it is certain that only the first series was removed from Somerset House to the Public Record Office on 24 Dec. 1859, the date of transfer on the official label, and the second series was only delivered in 1868 on demand *after*, and as a consequence of, Cunningham's attempt to sell the first two of them (see official correspondence). If, as seems possible, the retention of the second series at Somerset House were due to Cunningham's own initiative while still on the staff, one would suppose that he either took the three he wanted away with him in 1860, or perhaps more probably found an opportunity to abstract them in the reorganisation of 1867.

The above sketch of the whole transaction is an attempt to put

the case fairly in favour of the documents on the ground of their history.

But the insuperable difficulty created by the *Malone Scrap*, if written by Sir William Musgrave, is the impossibility of finding a forger adequate to the task between 1791 and 1800, or an adequate reason (in the state of Shakespearean controversy) for a much earlier forgery. Cunningham and Collier in 1834 or 1842 were both capable in knowledge and perhaps in skill; but the only notorious forger of the period under review, Ireland, is patently incompetent both in manner and matter.

The only substitute I can offer to the doubters is George Steevens, "the Puck of Commentators," who would no doubt have been delighted to trap Malone, with whom he was at variance at the time. He perpetrated a few acknowledged fakes, and has indeed been charged by Thomas Rodd and Francis Douce (see a note by the former in one of Steevens's books in the British Museum with a faked Shakespeare signature) with being behind the Ireland forgeries. It is curious that Collier in defending himself against the imputation of forgery at Bridgewater House suggests that Steevens had been there before him.

But the clinching point is that no forgery of this kind in the last years of the eighteenth century can now be considered possible without Musgrave's collusion. The forger would have had to find the necessary blank sheets in the documents himself, before Musgrave had noted them, to have written his lists, to have brought them to Musgrave's notice, and (if that was part of the plot) to have ensured their despatch to Malone. We may say, therefore, that any forgery involves Musgrave as a collaborator. *Credat Judæus*. Believe as you list.

## THE QUESTION OF PRECEDENCE BETWEEN DRYDEN AND THE EARL OF ORRERY WITH REGARD TO THE ENGLISH HEROIC PLAY

BY F. W. PAYNE

IN viewing from a distance of two and a half centuries the progress of the English Heroic Play of the Restoration Period, the figure of Dryden looms so large during the early stages, and all other writers have dwindled to such pygmies beside him, that until now there has been excuse for those who assumed without careful investigation that he was the originator as well as the most capable exponent of the type. But in these latter days all things have to stand or fall by evidence, and it will be found on examination of the facts that he will be a bold man indeed who shall assert *confidently* that Dryden was as early in this particular field as Roger Boyle, Lord Broghil, first Earl of Orrery.

This lord had become known as a writer before the Restoration, for he was the author of *Parthenissa*, the longest of all the English romances modelled on those of the Scudéry school.

Between 1660 and 1679, when he died, Orrery wrote a succession of plays. Two of these, *Mr. Anthony* and *Don Guzman*, were prose comedies and do not concern us here; the others were Heroic Tragedies, and all but one of them are written entirely in rhyme. They present many interesting features when examined in detail, but all that can be touched on here is their chronology. The following list gives the names of the plays with the date of their earliest recorded performance: *The History of Henry V.* (August 1664), *The Tragedy of Mustapha* (April 1665), *The Black Prince* (October 1667), *Tryphon* (December 1668), *Herod the Great* (unacted), *Altemira* (altered from *The General*, September 1664), 1702.

Dryden, in collaboration with Howard, had *The Indian Queen* acted in January 1663/4, six months earlier than the first recorded performance of a play of Orrery, and it has been generally assumed

that *The Indian Queen* was the first of the Restoration Heroic plays. This article contends that Orrery was writing Heroic plays years before Dryden wrote them, and that he actually had a play—*The Black Prince*, given in such records as exist as first acted in October 1667—produced earlier than *The Indian Queen*.

The story of Orrery's connexion with the Heroic Play begins as far back as the year 1660, when he was still in London in attendance upon the King, and the results of it became apparent in the following correspondence, taken from *The State Letters of the Earl of Orrery*.

In a letter to the Duke of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, dated January 23, 1661/2, Orrery says: "When I had the honour and happiness the last time to kiss His Majesty's hand, he commanded me to write a play for him . . . and therefore, some months after, I presumed to lay at his majesty's feet a tragi-comedy, all in ten-feet verse and rhyme . . . because I found his majesty relished rather the French fashion of writing plays than the English. . . . His majesty's mercy having condemned it to the latter (*i.e.* the theatre, not the fire), and then giving it to be acted by Mr. Killigrew's company, my old friend, Will D'Avenant, appeared so displeased his company had missed it, that nothing would reconcile me to him but to write another purposely for him. Therefore this last and this week having gotten some few hours to myself . . . , I dedicated these to please my particular friend, and wrote this unpolished draught of two acts. . . . I humbly present you with what I have wrote, and . . . choose you for my judge. The plot is such that I wish you could but as much like the rest of the play as I flatter myself you will like that. . . . And that your grace may have some guess at it, I will tell you here, that Acores is Romira in disguise."

On February 26, 1661/2, writing again to the Duke of Ormonde, he continues on the same theme: "That your grace would read the bulkiest part of Doctor Pett's packet, and that you would please to commend it, are double unexpected favours. . . . I have presented about a fortnight since to your grace the whole play, which, if it should be so happy as to please you, it will do that which is most ambitioned by" (*etc.*). On February 26, 1662/3, the King wrote to Orrery from Whitehall, and, after discussing other affairs, proceeds: "I will now tell you, that I have read your first play, which I like very well, and do intend to bring it upon the stage, as soon as my company have their new stage in order, that the scenes may be worthy



the words they are to set forth. For the last, I have only seen it in my lord lieutenant's hands, but will read it as soon as I have leisure." In his reply Orrery says, speaking of the play, "I will presume to send it in one book to Mr. Progers, to be laid by him at your majesty's feet."

In this same volume of State Letters there is a memoir of Orrery by Morrice, his chaplain. Generally Morrice seems very accurate, but at the exact point at which we need his help he has two conflicting statements, which, curiously enough, are also consecutive. It is therefore necessary to leave the main argument awhile in order to decide which of these two statements shall be accepted. Morrice has the following: "Soon after the earl's [Clarendon's] fall, his lordship returned into Ireland, where he still kept up the presidency Court, and there received a kind letter from his majesty, written with his own hand, which I have seen; wherein the king gives him many thanks for his great services to him, particularly for settling things in so good a posture in his province, assuring him he would always be mindful of it, and be ready to serve him in anything he should desire; and in conclusion his majesty lets him know, he was very well pleased with that part of *The Black Prince* he had sent him, and conjured him to go on and complete it, which if he could not do, until he had a fit of the Gout, he wished him a fit presently, that he might the sooner finish it."

So far this is Statement I. Morrice goes straight on: "King Charles was the first who put my lord upon writing plays, which his Majesty did upon occasion of a dispute that arose in his royal presence about writing plays in rhyme: some affirmed it was not to be done; others said it would spoil the fancy to be so confin'd, but Lord Orrery was of another opinion; and his majesty being willing a trial should be made commanded his lordship to employ some of his leisure that way, which my lord readily did and upon that occasion composed *The Black Prince*."

Both of these statements about *The Black Prince* cannot be true, for the first refers to the year 1667 when Orrery had already written at least three Heroic plays, while the second would make *The Black Prince* the first of his plays, written, as is shown by Orrery's own letter of January 23, 1661/2, during 1661. Take first the evidence for the second statement. In 1739, Dodsley the bookseller published an edition of Orrery's plays, and his preface contains the following passage: "*The Black Prince* was the first play which my Lord of

Orrery brought upon the stage ; and, in a Letter to one of his Friends, he mentions it in these words : ' I have now finished a Play in the French manner ; because I heard the King declare himself more in favour of their way of Writing than ours : My poor attempt cannot please his Majesty, but my Example may incite others who can : Sir William D'Avenant will have it acted about Easter.' "

The accounts of Orrery, Morrice, and Dodsley of the circumstances which led up to the writing of Orrery's first play agree very substantially, while Morrice in his second statement and Dodsley assert that the play was *The Black Prince*. This constitutes a considerable body of evidence, one which must be accepted unless the first statement of Morrice is obviously true.

With regard to this first statement, a clear view of the dates involved may be of help. The fall of Clarendon took place on August 30, 1667. Orrery was offered the Great Seal, and refused it. " Soon after " \* he left England for Ireland. This involved a journey to the port of, say, two days, for at that time of the year the roads would be comparatively good ; a day or a week on board ship (if only one knew how the wind lay during this time !), and a journey across to Charleville, where the Presidency Court was held. If Orrery left London immediately after Clarendon's fall, and found a fair wind, this *could* be done in a week. Allowing for the " soon after " and the wind, a fortnight seems a more probable period. Orrery, then, reached Charleville on or about September 14th.

*The Black Prince* was produced in London, according to Pepys for the first time, on October 19th. Is it possible that Orrery received the King's letter, wrote the rest of the play, sent it by special messenger to the King—which last would require at least a week ; that the King read the play and handed it to Killigrew ; that the actors learned their parts, rehearsed the play and produced it—all in a space of exactly five weeks ? With modern communications and under business conditions it would only be possible if the author had very little to write. But the phrasing of the King's letter—" he was well pleased with that part of *The Black Prince* he had sent him, and conjured his lordship to go on"—suggests that the play was by no means near completion. If the slowness of travel in those days, and the fact that Killigrew had to wait helplessly on the King's pleasure be added to this, it becomes almost certain that the feat was impossible. Morrice must have made a mistake. Probably he

\* Vide p. 175 ; extract from Morrice's *Memoir of the Earl of Orrery*.

compiled his Memoir from a diary, and found an entry that Lord Orrery showed him this letter in 1667. One feels convinced, however, that had he examined the letter carefully he would have seen that it was dated 1661. Two further points tend to confirm this conviction. First, the King's thanks to Orrery, "particularly for settling things in so good a posture in his province," has no point in 1667, when Orrery had just returned from a lengthy visit to London, but had great point in 1661 when, as Lord President of Munster, he *had* just settled his province.

Second, in 1667, Orrery had already written three plays at least, and one of these, *Mustapha*, had achieved great popularity. It seems probable, therefore, that had he at this stage of his career submitted a manuscript to the King he would have had sufficient self-confidence to complete it before submission; at any rate, as a seasoned popular author, even royal approval would hardly have galvanized him into the frenzied activities that the facts here require.

It seems certain, therefore, that Morrice's first statement is incorrect, while the second is supported by a good body of evidence and offers no inherent difficulties. This latter, then, we must accept, and so get back to the main argument.

In dealing with the mass of evidence given above, the testimony of Orrery and Charles must be considered unimpeachable, that of Morrice nearly as good, since he certainly spoke from frequent converse with Orrery, and Dodsley's possesses less but still considerable value. Assuming it all to be true, including Dodsley's contribution, it would seem that what actually happened was this: "The last time" Orrery "kissed his Majesty's hand" was in 1660. Therefore, "some months later" was the middle or some time in the latter half of 1661.

It would appear, then, that the first play was *The Black Prince*; that it was written before the end of 1661; that Orrery at first intended to produce it before the King saw it, and approached D'Avenant\* for that purpose, but later changed his mind and sent a copy to the King, who read, approved, and handed it over to Killigrew, probably telling him to keep it till he had a proper house built, as it was the first advent of civilized verse in English. It was acted soon after †

\* See last sentence of Orrery's letter quoted by Dodsley, p. 176.

† P. 174: King's letter to Orrery, "do intend to bring it upon the stage, as soon as my company have their new stage in order" (*italics mine*).

Killigrew, on May 7, 1663,\* opened the King's Playhouse, but made no special stir. In this connexion it must be remembered that *The Black Prince* is undeniably dull.

Meanwhile D'Avenant was justifiably annoyed at missing the play, and Orrery, who was a model of tact, appeased him by writing a second. Thinking that a little flattery of the Lord Lieutenant might do good, and at any rate could do no harm, he submitted this second play to Ormonde for criticism, whence it comes that we know that up to the present it is lost, for two of its characters were Romira or Acores and Hilas, and we have no play containing these names. This one was probably never produced, for it was written for D'Avenant, yet Downes has no mention of it. This is the story as deduced from the evidence. What are the objections to it?

First, Downes has no record of *The Black Prince* being acted in 1663. Since Downes is one of our principal authorities for the early Restoration stage, this objection at first sight appears serious. Most of its weight, however, is removed by Downes' *Preface to the Reader*, in the sentence given below:—

"But as to the Actors of Drury-Lane Company, under Mr. Thomas Killigrew, he [Downes] having the Account from Mr. Charles Booth sometimes Book Keeper there; If he a little Deviates, as to the Successive Order, and exact time of their Plays Performances, He begs Pardon of the Reader, and Subscribes himself

"His very Humble Servant

JOHN DOWNES" †

Considering that he had no first-hand information, and that his account is liable to the errors of two memories, there is little wonder if a play should pass unnoticed which, to an audience accustomed to the sensationalism of Beaumont and Fletcher, and not yet fully trained to the Love and Honour theory, must have seemed mighty poor.

The next criticism will be that Pepys does not mention this early performance of *The Black Prince*, and that his 1664 enumeration of Orrery's plays excludes it. Pepys' actual evidence is that

\* This is the date which Pepys gives, and it is generally accepted as correct. Downes states that the King's Playhouse was opened on April 8th of the same year.

† *Roscius Anglicanus, or, an Historical Review of the Stage from 1660-1706*, by John Downes. With an historical Preface by Joseph Knight; a Facsimile reprint of the rare original of 1708, Jarvis & Son, 1886.

on August 13, 1664, he saw *Henry V.*; on September 28, 1664, *The General*, Lord Orrery's "second play"; on October 19, 1667, *The Black Prince*, "a new play," "the first time it is acted."

From the opening of Killigrew's theatre to the first recorded production of a Heroic play—Howard and Dryden's *Indian Queen*—a period of more than eight months, Pepys only went to the King's Theatre five times,\* from which it clearly appears that the King's Company during that period produced many plays of which Pepys knew nothing. Even if he did hear of *The Black Prince*, as he did not see it there is no reason for it to appear in his diary. He saw *Henry V.* in August 1664, and *The General* in September 1664. Therefore he calls *The General* Orrery's second play. It does not at all follow that no play of Orrery had been produced earlier than 1664.

Next we come to his entry relating to *The Black Prince* in 1667. He says it is a new play, the first time it is acted. But in the course of the same entry he speaks of "his" (Orrery's) two former plays *Henry V.* and *Mustapha*, omitting all mention of *The General*. Now, if Pepys completely forgets a play which he saw himself three years previously, it is not too much to suppose that he would forget—assuming that he had heard of it at the time—that the play he had just watched had been played four years previously, especially in view of the fact that he did not then see it himself. The positive statements of contemporary fact of a diarist must carry great weight as evidence, because his entries are made immediately after the events occur, but his omissions signify very little, because he must always reject ten facts for every one he records.

It may also be objected that Herbert, the Master of the Revels, has no mention of an early performance of *The Black Prince* in his list of plays, but this is unimportant, for, in the first place, he records no plays at all from July 23, 1662, to November 3, 1663; that is, he attempts no record at all of six of our eight months. Secondly, at the end of his list he says "8 more" and gives no names.†

It seems only reasonable that the positive evidence of King

\* Killigrew's Theatre Royal was opened on May 7, 1663 (Pepys). *The Indian Queen*, written by Howard and Dryden, was produced in January 1664. Pepys speaks of it on January 27th as "the new play." From May 8, 1663, to January 26, 1664, Pepys' attendances at the Theatre Royal were: May 8th, *The Humorous Lieutenant*; June 10th, *Love in a Maze*; June 12th, *The Committee*; June 13th, *The Faithful Shepherdess*; January 2nd, *The Usurper*. In addition, he went to the Duke's House once, on January 1st, *Henry VIII.*

† See Malone, *Variorum Shakespeare*, vol. III, p. 351; and Quincey Adams, *Dramatic Records of Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels*, 1922.

Charles, Morrice, and Dodsley should be held to outweigh the omissions of Downes, Herbert, and Pepys. In addition, there is the testimony of Dryden, which is valuable both as being contemporary, and also because the circumstances of it constrain one to believe it true. In the closing paragraph of his dedication of *The Rival Ladies* to Lord Orrery, he writes: "But, my Lord, though I have more to say upon this subject [*i.e.* the use of rhyme in plays] yet I must remember, it is your Lordship to whom I speak; who have much better commended this way by writing in it, than I can do by writing for it. Where my reasons cannot prevail, I am sure your Lordship's example must." And earlier in the same dedication he says: "Your excellent poems having afforded that knowledge of it [*i.e.* the art of writing] to the world, that your enemies are ready to upbraid you with it, as a crime for a man of business to write so well."

A few lines further on occurs the following: "Plotting and writing in this kind are certainly more troublesome employments than many which signify more. . . . Yet I wonder not your Lordship succeeds so well in this attempt; the knowledge of men is your daily practice in the world. . . ."

Now the third of these extracts certainly proves that Orrery had written one or more *plays* previous to this dedication; "plotting and rhyming" can refer to nothing else in Orrery's case. Also the whole tone of all three quotations goes far to shew that one at least had been produced. Of course it is possible to argue that up to this point Orrery's work, though well known among the inner literary circles through being circulated in manuscript, had none of it been produced. But the phrases "to the world" and "your Lordship's example" suggest, if viewed without prejudice, the wider audience of the theatre.

This dedication would, indeed, have been given a much more prominent place in the argument but for the fact that there is a bare possibility that it was written late enough to refer to Orrery's *Henry V.* *The Rival Ladies* was licensed for publication on June 27, 1664,\* but it may not have been printed until late in the year, even until December. In that case, Dryden's preface might not have been written before September. Now the first *recorded* production of a play by Orrery is that of *Henry V.* in August 1664. Therefore, if the dedication was written before August, it refers to

\* Stationers Register, Roxburghe edn., ii. 345.



a performance of an Orrery play earlier than any recorded, and so supports the case for *The Black Prince*; if, on the other hand, the dedication was written after the production of *Henry V.*, the reference may be to that play. True, the phrase "your Lordship's example" rather suggests a play prior to Dryden's own, but Dryden might consider that, for the purposes of panegyric, any play before the date of writing would be justification enough.

Johnson also says, *Life of Dryden*: "The practice of making tragedies in rhyme was introduced soon after the Restoration, as it seems, by the Earl of Orrery, in compliance with the opinion of Charles the Second who had formed his taste by the French theatre." Probably this statement indicates the existence of a widely entertained tradition that Orrery first wrote rhymed plays, and such a tradition is liable to be based on truth. Johnson's hedging in the phrase "as it seems," shows that he was not certain whether he was right, but his belief is a useful piece of corroborative evidence.

If all this evidence be carefully sifted and weighed, the first fact that emerges is that there is no absolute proof that any play by Orrery was acted before 1664. There is proof that at least two plays were written by him and circulated in manuscript previous to that year. There is also very strong circumstantial evidence that the first of these was *The Black Prince*, and that it was produced at the King's Theatre in 1663. To all this must be added the facts that Dryden, Orrery's competitor for the first place in order of time, states definitely that Orrery preceded him in the work, and that Johnson evidently understood that to have been the case.

As has already been stated, there is no actual proof that Orrery had a play produced prior to Dryden's first, but were it adjudged (as some no doubt would have it) a capital crime to have written the Heroic play first acted, then would Orrery be hanged, else of late Justice has sorely miscarried in several notorious cases. It is difficult to imagine a stronger body of evidence, short of actual proof, than that for *The Black Prince*. And it is proved that Orrery wrote Heroic plays long before Dryden began.

## ELIZABETHAN STAGE GLEANINGS\*

BY E. K. CHAMBERS

### v. *Philip Rossiter.*

In the same article, Mr. Fincham gives the following from the *Consistory of London Correction Book* (1609-11), p. 214, under the date of December 21, 1610:—

St. Dunstan in the West, Mr. Philipp Rossiter a plaier.

Presented *that* he peremptorily affirmed in most vile spiteful speaches *that* a man might learne more good at one of their plaies or interludes than at twenty of *your* rogish sermons. He is warned to appear again in the Consistory 14 Jan. *proximo* to hear further proceedings in this matter.

Mr. Fincham could not trace any further entry. I am sorry that Rossiter, who collaborated with Campion in a charming song-book, and in 1610 was a patentee for the Queen's Revels at the Whitefriars (*E.S.* ii. 56), spoke so rudely. But the dispute as to the comparative moral edification to be derived from plays and sermons was an old commonplace of stage controversy (*E.S.* i. 258).

### vi. *Lady Elizabeth's Men.*

I find the following in a collection of *Coventry Papers from Corporation MSS.* in *Warwickshire Antiquarian Magazine*, part vii. (1873), 406:—

The misdemeanour of one of the Lady Elizebeth's Players.  
28<sup>o</sup> die Marcij. 1615.

One of the Company of the lady Elizabeth's players came to this Cittie the 27th of March and said to Thos : Barrowes Clothworker these words. vizt you are such people in this Toune so peevishe that you would have your throats cutt and that you were well served you would be fatched up with pursevaunts.

Witnes hereof

THOMAS BARROWES.

\* Continued from p. 78.

The names of the players named in the patent the lady Elizabethes players bearinge Date the xxxj<sup>th</sup> of May. Anno undecimo Jacobi [1613].

John Townesend	}	Sworn officers & none other named in the patent.
Josephe Moore		
William Perry	}	Boyes.
Robert Fintrye		
George Bosgrove		
Thomas Suell		
James Jones		
Charles Martyn		
Hughe Haughton		
James Kneller		
John Hunt		
Edward		
Raphe		
Walter Barrett	}	
5 Horses. in their Company.		

There is another record of this visit of the Lady Elizabeth's men to Coventry in a letter of March 28, 1615, from Sir Edward Coke, then recorder of the city, to the Mayor forbidding their reception (Murray, ii. 254). The provincial wanderings of the company after the London amalgamation with the Queen's Revels in March, 1613, are difficult to disentangle (*E.S.* ii. 253, 258, 259). Some of the performances recorded may have been by the London company during vacations, but it seems clear that shortly after the amalgamation an exemplification of the original patent of April 27, 1611, was taken out for the use of a distinct provincial company. It was produced as an exemplification under the date May 31, 1613, at Norwich, on May 27, 1615 (Murray, ii. 340), and is clearly identical with the "patent" described in the Coventry document, which gives much fuller details on the composition of the provincial company than are preserved elsewhere. But I think that its list belongs to 1613 rather than to 1615, since on February 27, 1615, William Perry with others received a signet licence for a King's Revels company (Murray, ii. 340). This only lasted to July 16, 1616, when it was suppressed by the Lord Chamberlain (Murray, ii. 343), but on October 31, 1617, Perry, with Nicholas Long and others, was licensed for a Queen's Revels company, which endured to 1627-9. In 1623 it also included George Bosgrave, James Jones, Walter Barrett, and James Kneller of the Coventry list (Murray, i. 361). Perry's stage career lasted to 1642 (Murray, i. 272). Bosgrave

(i. 214), Kneller (i. 218), and Haughton (ii. 8) of the Coventry list are faintly traceable; the rest disappear. Who led the boys in 1615? Possibly Nicholas Long, who came to Norwich with a Queen's Revels company on May 20, 1612, and a Lady Elizabeth's company on March 2, 1614 (Murray, ii. 339). Possibly the patentees John Townsend and Joseph Moore themselves, since they do not seem to have led the London combinations of 1613-16, and Townsend certainly brought Lady Elizabeth's men to Norwich on June 5, 1616 (Murray, ii. 341).

#### vii. *The King's Men.*

A note by Sir John Coke, one of the Masters of Requests, for his first audience with Charles I. on May 12, 1625 (*H.M.C. Cowper MSS.* i. 194), contains the following:—

King James' servants. . . . John Lowen, porter, who bought his place, being a player, for 200*l.*, to be confirmed in it. . . . His majesty's comedians to be sworn again in ordinary.

It is clear from the records in J. T. Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, i. 161-172, that John Lowin's appointment as Porter did not entail his retirement from the King's men.

#### viii. *Officers of the Hall.*

A similar note by Coke, for a second audience on May 23, 1625 (*H.M.C. Cowper MSS.* i. 198), contains the following:—

Marshals and Sewers of the Hall are by the Lord Chamberlain's certificate declared to have had their beginning in Henry 1st's time and continued till Edward 3rd and so with little alteration till His late Majesty's time, having been found very useful at coronations, St. George's and other feasts, masques, plays, maundies, and installments, and in the word of the Whitestaves fit to be continued.

The obsolescent functions of the Hall officers at court are noted in *E.S.* i. 34.

#### ix. *The Site of the Globe.*

I do not think that Mr. G. Hubbard, *On the Site of the Globe Playhouse* (1923), is successful in rebutting the contention of Mr. Braines (cf. *E.S.*, ii. 433) that the Globe stood on the south of Maid Lane. The land dealt with in the Brend-Mempris deed of

1626, on which he relies, was clearly itself on the south of the Lane, and indeed on the south of Globe Alley, so that it was only loosely described as being "in" Maid Lane at all. Even if Mr. Hubbard were right in thinking that a bit of land in the Clink described as "the park" in 1609 (cf. *E.S.*, ii. 432) was distinct from the Bishop of Winchester's great park, which now seems to me doubtful, it would not help him. When Philip and Mary came to London on 17 August 1554 (*Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 78) they landed:

"at Sainte Mary Overyes, at the bushope of Winchesters place, and ther, after they had drounck, they passed the lytell parke into Suffolke place, alias Southewark place, in which parke they killed by the way certayn buckes."

This "little park" is clearly visible in Van der Wyngaerde's drawing of c. 1543-50, and the "park" of 1609, if distinct from the great park, was presumably a relic of it. It stood to the east of Dead-man's Place, and could have been no boundary of the Globe site.

#### x. *Scottish Bag-Pipes on the Stage.*

This extract and that which follows are taken from G. S. Gargano, *Scapigliatura Italiana a Londra sotto Elisabetta e Giacomo I* (1923), 86, 125. This contains interesting studies of the London careers of Paolo Gondola (1590-92), a merchant from Ragusa; Ottaviano Lotti (1603-14), a Florentine secretary of embassy; Antonio Foscarini (1611-15), a Venetian ambassador; and Costantino de' Servi (1611-15), a Florentine artist in the service of Henry Prince of Wales, who replaced Inigo Jones, not very successfully, as a designer of court masks in 1613-14 (*Eliz. Stage*, i. 180). The references in the book are not very precise, but both extracts appear to be from letters addressed to the Secretary of State at Florence, and preserved there among the *Filze Medicee* in the Archivio di Stato.

In May 1607, Ottaviano Lotti writes:

Un' opera di poeta è stata quasi cagione di gravissimo scandalo, perchè alcuni commedianti che la rappresentavano in scena introducevano che uno volendo fare una serenata alla Dama andasse raccogliendo diverse sorte di musici; et ne comparvero così molti, chi con viole, violini, liuti, arpe, flauti e simili, et ciascuno dicendo d'esser del paese di una di queste provincie d'Inghilterra era ammesso al concerto, et tutti insieme facevano armonia concorde et che diletta. All'ultimo si avvicinò uno

con una piva, che, oltre all' essere senza suono, faceva tanto rumore che stordiva et guastava tutta la musica; et finalmente risposto ch' egli ebbe d'esser scozzese fu cacciato via et dettoli se egli haveva tanto poco giudizio a credere che istrumento sì villano potesse accordarsi et unirsi agli altri così nobili et sì degni. I cavalieri scozzesi che furono presenti a udire presorno a farne quivi risentimento, ma se n'astennero; et vogliono che il Re n' habbia anche preso grandissima collera.

This adds to the evidence of stage outspokenness, especially against the invading Scots, noted in *E.S.*, i. 325.

xi. *An Episode at the Curtain.*

Antimo Galli reports to Andrea Cioli, the Secretary of State at Florence, an undignified adventure (*cf. E.S.*, i. 264) of Antonio Foscari:

Bisogna finalmente che io ne dica una ben pantalonissima. Suole questo nostro Pantalone hora andar spesso fuori solo, con un servitore fidato però, che li va un pezzo avanti per insegnarli la via, e va dicendo che va incognito. Dove si vada poi chi lo sa. Va spesso alla Comedia a quella foggia, e tra le altre, andò l'altro giorno alla Comedia che si chiama qua della Cortina che è di là da casa sua, luogo infamissimo, dove non si vede mai faccia di cittadino non che di gentilhuomo, e quello che fu peggio che per non pagare un reale o un [*mutilation in MS.*] per andare in uno di quei camerini, nè tampoco andare a sedere in uno di quei gradi che vi sono, volse stare in mezzo, da basso, tra la canaglia di facchini e carrettieri con iscusà che gli bisognava star più presso, perchè haveva l'udito grosso, come se egli havebbe inteso bene quel linguaggio. Ma non finì qui, chè nel ultimo, dandosi licenza da uno dei recitanti et invitando il popolo alla Comedia per il dì seguente, ne nominò una. Ma il popolo che ne desiderava un' altra, cominciò a gridare *friars, friars*, cioè, frati, frati, desiderandone una che la chiamavano dei frati. Voltandosi allora il nostro Tambellone al suo interprete rispose che quello era nome di una comedia di frati. Allora egli sviluppandosi del mantello cominciò a sbatter le mani come facea il popolaccio e grider: frati, frati. Ma il popolo, a quel gridare, voltandosi a lui e credendolo uno spagnuolo cominciò a fargli fischiare, di maniera che non credo gli sia venuto voglia di più tornarvi. Ma non resta di frequentare gli altri teatri, e quasi sempre con un solo servitore.

The precise date of the letter is not given, but the embassy lasted from April 1611 to December 1615. It is not certain what company was then using the Curtain. Signor Gargano suggests that the play called for was *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. This seems to have been normally a Fortune play, but it had of course long been in print, and had perhaps thus become common property.



## SOME NOTES ON DRYDEN \*

BY G. THORN-DRURY

vi. *Dryden and Shadwell.*

(a) *The date of Mac-Flecknoe.*

The relation which *Mac-Flecknoe* bears to some other pieces of the period has apparently been determined by the date inscribed upon the title of his copy by Narcissus Luttrell. In the course of his indefatigable researches for the purposes of his *Life of Dryden*, Malone examined a large collection of poetical tracts which had been formed by Luttrell and which was then in Bindley's library. The former, as is well known, used to write upon the title-pages of his books, pamphlets and broad-sides the date upon which he acquired, and, if purchased, the price he paid for each.

It is true that in the case of *Mac-Flecknoe* Malone does not in terms vouch his authority for the date, October 4, 1682, which he gives † as that of publication, but he does rely on it in other instances,‡ and I am not aware of any other source from which he could have obtained such information. As I am concerned in this note with the date of the *composition* of Dryden's satire, it is perhaps hardly necessary to emphasise what I have said above, that Luttrell's dates are the dates of acquisition, and though, no doubt, in some cases they are also the dates of publication, they certainly are not in all.

Malone, whose conclusions have been adopted by Scott and other editors and biographers of Dryden, assuming it to have been written shortly before publication, describes *Mac-Flecknoe* as the result of a series of provocations given by Shadwell, culminating in *The Medal of John Bayes*, which he says, I take it upon the same authority, appeared on the 15th of the preceding May.§ It seemed to him a matter worthy of note that, seeing that the second part of *Absalom*

\* Continued from p. 83.

† *The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden*, 1800, I. 169.

‡ *Ibid.*, 157 (*Absalom and Achitophel*), 163 (*The Medal*).

§ *Ibid.*, 165.

and *Achitophel* was published on November 10,\* Dryden delivered two attacks upon Shadwell with an interval of only five weeks between them, and, it may be added, produced the second after, if Shadwell is to be believed, he had been taxed with and had solemnly repudiated the authorship of the first. The explanation which I venture to suggest is, that if October 4, 1682, was the actual date of publication of *Mac-Flecknoe*, it had been written and circulated in MS. some considerable time before.

There exists in the Bodleian Library a transcript,† said to be in the hand of Oldham, of part of the poem, bearing the date 1678: if this could be absolutely relied on there would obviously be an end of the question, and more evidence would be superfluous. I know of no reason why it may not be the date, at any rate, of the transcript, but it is of course possible that the copyist, writing much later, may have put upon it what he supposed to have been the date of composition, and he may have been misinformed: it is therefore desirable to pursue the matter. The publications which have been identified as Shadwell's up to 1682, with one or two quite insignificant exceptions, are dramatic in form, and though no one would dream of claiming a very high place in the order of merit for any of them, it is difficult to see how they can be fairly described as pre-eminently *dull*, or to suppose that anybody would couple the name of their author with that of Flecknoe unless and until Dryden had sanctioned such an association by his magnificent satire.

There can, I think, be no manner of doubt that Durfey intended Sir Barnaby Whigg for a portrait of Shadwell: his girth, his pride in his mastery of the lute and the indifferent reputation of his wife are all referred to, and, as if these points were not sufficient to identify and hold him up to ridicule, the following song, which has no relation to the action of the play, is introduced, sung by Sir Barnaby Whigg, in Act III. sc. 1.

## I.

*Farewell my Lov'd Science, my former delight,  
Moliere is quite rifled, then how should I write?  
My fancy's grown sleepy, my quibbling is done;  
And design or invention, alas! I have none.  
But still let the Town never doubt my condition;  
Though I fall a damn'd Poet, I'll mount a Musician.*

\* *The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden*, 1800, I. 173.

† Rawlinson, poet, 123: 14616 in the Summary Catalogue; attention was first called to this by Mr. Percy L. Babington in *The Modern Language Review*, January 1918, and some portion of my note appeared, *ibid.*, in July.

## II.

I got Fame by filching from Poems and Plays,  
 But my Fidling and Drinking has lost me the Bays ;  
 Like a Fury I rail'd, like a Satyr I writ,  
*Thersites* my Humour, and *Fleckno* my Wit.  
 But to make some amends for my snarling and lashing,  
 I divert all the Town with my Thrumming and Thrashing.

I have been unable to ascertain the exact date of the production of *Sir Barnaby Whigg* ; 1681 is on the title-page of the printed play, and as it is advertised in the Term Catalogue for Michaelmas of that year, it would, I think, be reasonable to suppose that it made its appearance on the stage in the early autumn.

It is, of course, within the bounds of possibility that Dryden borrowed from Dufey the idea of linking Shadwell's name with Flecknoe's, and that he followed him in rallying his victim upon his corpulence, his plagiarisms and his playing on the lute ; it is even possible that the "threshing hand" of *Mac-Flecknoe* (l. 52) was directly derived from the last line of this song, but I venture to think that such suppositions are hardly worth consideration, but that both Dufey and Oldham\* (for I think Dryden and not he wrote *Mac-Flecknoe*) had, no doubt in common with many other people, seen the satire in MS. and that we have in this song reference to it at least a year before it is supposed to have been printed.

There seem to me to be in addition two pieces of evidence to be found in the poem itself which point to 1678 rather than a later year as more probably the date of its composition.

It is described, in the print but not in the transcript, as "a satire upon the True-blue Protestant Poet," though there is not in it from one end to the other the very slightest reference to Shadwell's religious or political leanings, matters which, in my submission, would inevitably have been dealt with if Dryden had been engaged upon it so late as 1682, or had been responsible for this description of it, which was, I suggest, the improvisation of the piratical publisher.

\* Mr. Babington in the paper referred to above quoted, *alio intuitu*, various parallels between *Mac-Flecknoe* and Oldham's published writings, but omitted what strikes me as the most significant :

St. Andrew's feet ne'er kept more equal time :

*Mac-Flecknoe*, l. 53.

St. Andrew never moved with such a grace :

*An Imitation of Horace, Book I., Satyr IX., Written in June 1681*, l. 70.

The second piece of evidence I find in the sneering allusion to Herringman in l. 104. With the exception of the lines contained in *Three Poems upon the Death of Cromwell*, Herringman had published everything of Dryden's that was printed between 1660 and 1678: on January 31 of that year he entered *All for Love* in the Stationers' Register, and later published it, but thereafter there were, as far as we know, no business relations between them. *Oedipus*, licensed January 3, 1678, was issued by Bentley and Magnes, and *Troilus and Cressida* (s.n. *Truth found too late*) was entered at Stationers' Hall by Tonson and Swall on April 14 of the same year.

Herringman, it may reasonably be supposed, had in some way or other offended Dryden in 1678, but it ill accords with what we are told of the poet's placable disposition to think of him waiting for four years for an opportunity to introduce this gibe at his late associate.

Finally, in *The Loyal Protestant* of Thursday, February 9, 1681, in the course of an attack upon Shadwell, this passage occurs:

"he would send him (*i.e.* Shadwell) his Recantation next morning, with a *Mac Flecknoe*, and a brace of Lobsters for his Breakfast; All which he knew he had a singular aversion for."

The use of the expression "a *Mac Flecknoe*" seems to me inconsistent with the idea that the writer had only a MS. copy of the satire in his mind, but be that as it may, it is, I venture to submit, obvious that the suggested relation between it and other pieces, and particularly the statement that it was provoked by *The Medal of John Bayes*, must be abandoned.

(b) *The authorship of The Medal of John Bayes.*

There is in the Dyce Library a copy of this piece upon the title-page of which Narcissus Luttrell, no doubt the original purchaser, has written the words and figures following:

"6<sup>d</sup>. By Thomas Shadwell. Agt Mr. Dryden very severe 15 May."

It was published in 1682 by Richard Janeway, who, it is to be observed, had not been concerned in the issue of any single scrap of Shadwell's identified work, and there is not to be found, as far as I am aware, a trace of a suggestion of his authorship of it throughout the full and free exchange of abuse which the religious

and political differences of the time provoked ; the above inscription is, in fact, the ground, and the only ground, for heaping upon Shadwell the disgrace of this scurrilous production.

Malone, however, followed here as elsewhere by every succeeding editor and biographer of Dryden, adopts Luttrell's ascription without question, and on the very same page \* as that on which he introduces it, he mentions *The Tory Poets*, published September 4, 1682, "which," he says, "has always been attributed to the same person." In *Poems On Affairs of State*, Part III., 1698, in the Table of Contents, Shadwell is said to be the author of *The Address of John Dryden Laureat, to His Highness the Pr. of Orange*, which is, of course, another satire, and printed in the same volume (p. 273) is yet another poem *To the King*, which is similarly ascribed in the contemporary MS. from which I have printed below the prose address to Lord Dorset which is prefixed to it ; and Oldys in his annotated Langbaine speaks of Shadwell's *Satire to his Muse by the Author of Absalom and Achitophel*.

*The Satyr To His Muse* was advertised in *The True Protestant Mercury* for July 22-26, 1682, and there is, also in the Dyce Library, a copy of *The Tory Poets* marked by Luttrell with the date "Sept. 4." Leaving out of account for the moment the two pieces mentioned above, which belong to the reign of William III., it is to the last degree improbable that within the short period covered by the appearance of the three others which can be dated with approximate accuracy, any one man should have produced them all and should have returned three several times to the attack upon Dryden. It is much more likely that as Shadwell had been his most conspicuous victim among the literary men, his name was most readily associated with anything and everything in the nature of a retort, and that it is for this and for no other reason that he has been saddled with *The Medal of John Bayes* and these other pieces, for his authorship of all or any of which the evidence is alike, a single unsupported statement.

If Luttrell had reliable ground for his ascription, it is practically certain that Dryden himself, Sir Charles Sedley, interested as Shadwell's constant patron, and many other people must have been aware of it ; yet when the first is replying in *The Vindication of the Duke of Guise* (4to, 1683) to Shadwell and his Whig associates, he makes no reference whatever to *The Medal of John Bayes*, complains †

\* *Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden*, I. i. 165.

† *Op. cit.* p. 25.

that Shadwell has often called him an Atheist in print, and though he says he has material upon which to found charges of immorality against him, rallies him once more upon his corpulence and unlimited capacity for liquor.

It was to Sir Charles Sedley that Shadwell dedicated his translation of *The Tenth Satyr Of Juvenal* (4to, 1687), and when in the Epistle before it he protests against the *Mac-Flecknoe* attack, his protest, whatever evidence it may afford of the truth of the charge of dullness, displays neither scurrilous violence nor obscenity, and it contains this passage which, in part at least, has found its way into most accounts of Dryden :

"It is hard to believe that the supposed *Author of Mack-Fleckno* is the real one, because when I taxed him with it, he denied it with all the Execrations he could think of. However my *Dullness* admits of an excuse, because I endeavour to avoid it all I can. But had I been base or dishonest, I could have made none, yet if he pleases to let my *Reputation* alone, I shall not envy him the Fame he has."

Christie, dealing with this alleged repudiation of *Mac-Flecknoe*, says : \*

"Dryden may have felt himself entitled to deny when questioned by Shadwell, whose own attack had deprived him of all right of complaint and all claim to courtesy."

He is, as I have shown in the preceding note, mistaken in thinking that *Mac-Flecknoe* was provoked by *The Medal of John Bayes*, but I have quoted his language because it seems to me a striking comment upon the attitude which Shadwell assumes in this epistle, addressed as it is to one who must have known the facts. There are, I suppose it must be admitted, no limits to hypocrisy and untruthfulness, but it is very difficult to believe that a man who had shortly before disgraced himself by the disgusting obscenity of his attack upon Dryden, should, while actually addressing him in public, put forward this unctuous claim to make excuse for himself, because he is neither base nor dishonest.

#### vii. *Mr. Dryden's Poem to King William.*

In his annotated copy of Langbaine Oldys says :

"Mr. Dryden's Poem to King William, of which I have two copies in MS., with a discourse prefixed containing an apology for his past life

\* *The Poetical Works of John Dryden*, 1890, p. 142.



and writings, dedicated to the Lord Dorset, appears not likely to be of his writing, but rather an imposition on the world in his name to expose the inconsistency of his principles."

The poem in question is that to which I have referred in a preceding note; below are printed, I believe for the first time, the title and "discourse" as they appear in a contemporary MS., possibly one of those which Oldys had.

A Poem

on his Majesty's happy Accession to the Crown.

By John Dryden Esq.

Together with a Vindication of his late Life and Writings; Humbly dedicated to the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household.

*Queis Augusta Malis quum Mœnia vexarentur,  
Ipse suum Theseus pro caris Corpus Athenis  
Projicere optavit potius, quam talia Cretam  
Oris Cecropij (heu!) Funera portarentur:  
Atq' ita Nave levi nitens, ac lenibus Auris,  
Crudelem ad Minoa venit.*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

To the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household.

"MY LORD,

"The Credit and Reputation your Lordship has gained in the World, by a sincere and constant Adhering to the Principles of your Religion in the worst of Times; and the Privilege which you have always allow'd (even the meanest) of Flying for Protection to you, when unjustly assaulted by the Calumnies of their Enemies, has been the Occasion of some men's Addressing themselves to your Lordship, in hopes by a favourable Reception, from so Just and Generous a Person, to lessen their Crimes to the Eye (if not wholly to reinstate themselves into the former good Opinion of the World; and among others has embolden'd me to offer up the following Vindication of my Life and Writings to your Lordship's Consideration; resolving to submit myself to what-ever your Lordship shall determine.

"I am sensible, my Lord, that immediately upon seeing of my Name subscribed to a Paper of this Nature, the World will be apt to cry out, and say, that I have now fully confirmed the character, which my Adversaries have all along given of me, to wit, That I am a man, who, to serve my own Ends, will comply with all manner of Times, and that it is neither Conscience nor Religion, but Interest, which I make the sum and scope of all my Actions: from which unjust Accusation while I endeavour to free my self, I must beg your Lordship's Patience as well as Pardon for a

while. When the late King (if a Person who has violated so many Laws, and been the Occasion of the Death of so many Brave and Noble Patriots, does not rather deserve to come under the Denomination of a Tyrant) made his way to the Throne (for 'tis now evident that the late King Charles the Second did not Dye a Natural Death) I sat me down, and as I thought my self bound in Duty to the Common Mother of us all, began to consider, which way I shou'd best oppose that Inundation of Popery which I saw likely to break in upon her, and as well as I could to free my Country from that necessary Attendant on it, I mean Slavery. To have writ against it (tho my Talent lyes in Satyr) I judg'd in vain, most of our eminent Wits and Divines having sufficiently done it before me; neither have I my self been wanting on that Subject, as witness my Spanish Fryer, and my Religio Laici; and to have appeared publicly, it lay no more in my Power, than it consisted with my Safety. Whereupon I resolv'd to accomplish that by Policy, which I could not doe by Force; And, without Vanity, I may say, that Success has been answerable to the Intention.

"My Lord, I am not, neither have I been, ignorant this long time, of that hard Opinion which the World has been pleased to conceive of me; the daily Satyrs and Libels, that were published against me, sufficiently convinced me of it; but to let them see how wrongfully I suffer'd, I resolv'd to turn that to their Preservation, which they unnaturally had designed for my Destruction: like an indulgent Prince, who punishes his rebellious Subjects, by Advancing them to Places of the greatest Trust and Reputation about him; or, as Plato said, when being told by one, that the People spoke ill of him, I will confute them, says he, by my Living well. And thereupon I gave out to the World, that I had changed my Religion, and that, from a Member of the Church of England, I was become a Votary to the See of Rome. This, my Lord, may perhaps startle your Lordship at first, and make you inquire how, or in what manner, I obliged the Church of England, by Forsaking her Communion, for that of the Church of Rome? but your Lordship knows that

Hyperbolus, by suffering, did traduce  
And sham'd the Ostracism out of use.

"According to my Brother Cleveland\*; and that at this Day it is a Custom among Farmers to banish Rabbets \*in his Rebel from Burroughing among their Corn, by placing of Vermin [Scot.] at the Entrance of their Holes: My Lord, in the Eye of the World, I was look'd upon as such, and therefore resolv'd by my early Conversion to block up the Passage; into which I saw many likely to run, if not prevented by my Going over first.

"And now I appeal to your Lordship, whether the success, as I said before, has not been answerable to the Design; and whether any Person of Note, but such as were merely driven in, have since that Time reconcil'd themselves, and I my self have heard several Persons (who knew me not) say, that were it for no other Reason than that Mr. Dryden had turned, they were resolv'd not to comply with the Times; Such an

Odium had the Malice of my Enemies cast upon me, that men wou'd choose rather to be of no Religion, than of that which I profess myself of. But, my Lord, to heap more Coals of Fire upon the Head of this ungrateful Countrey of mine, I have sacrific'd my dearest Part, my Wit (;) I mean, to her Quiet. When Aristotle wou'd express the Height of Love, he makes mention of that of a Father to his Child, and a Poet to his Work; And Montaign infinitely prefers the latter; insomuch that he says, that he doubts not, but there are some Poets, who would sacrifice their Child, for the preservation of their Poem; But, my Lord, such has been my Affection to my Countrey, that I have wounded my self in my tenderest Part, for the Establishment of her Repose. All that know me, know that I can write severely with more Ease than I can gently; and if I forbore to pour the Torrent of my Verse against the Protestants in my Hind and Panther, 'twas not because I could not, but because I would not; but like the Poet Claudian's works, the Dulness of the Piece, shou'd be attributed to the Barrenness of the Subject, and not to the Author's want of Invention.

"And now, my Lord, I think I have given a sufficient Testimony to the World of the Love and Affection I bear this Nation, and of my Duty to my ancient Mother the Church of England, and of which Church I here profess that I always was, am, and hope by the Grace of God to continue, an obedient member: So that, my Lord, having declar'd this, I hope to receive the same favourable Protection and Encouragement from the Government that every Protestant does, and that your Lordship will become an Advocate to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> for the little Pension which I receiv'd Yearly as Poet Laureat, it being the onely Support of my poor-distressed Family, and which, since his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s Accession to the Crown has been given to my mortal Enemy.

"As for the following Poem, some will be apt to object against it, that I have dealt a little too severely against the late King; but I hope I have said enough for that already; And if what I endured my self were not sufficient to awake my Revenge, the misery which [I] see these Nations reduc'd to by the Folly and Obstinacy of one man, were; but, submitting all to your Lordship's greater Judgment, I rest,

"Your obedient humble Servant,

"JOHN DRYDEN."

viii. *Dryden, Creech and Tonson.*

In the second edition of Creech's *Lucretius* (Oxford, 1683) there appear, among others, two pieces of complimentary verse, one beginning:

How happy had our English tongue been made,

and the other:

*What all men wisht, tho few cou'd hope to see,*

The first has at the end of it, "*London*, Jan. 25, 1682," the second, "*London*, Feb. 6," and the initials, E. W.

Wood in his account of Creech \* has the following :

" This translation (of Lucretius) was reprinted at Oxon. 1683, in oct. and, being esteemed an excellent piece was usher'd into the world by the recommendatory poems of John Dryden poet laureat, Tho. Flatman, N. Tate sometime of the univ. of Dublin, Aphora (*sic*) Bhen (*sic*), Tho. Otway, John Evelin (*sic*) sen. Edm. Waller of Beconsfield, and two copies from Cambridge, one made by T. Adams fellow of King's College, and the other by Rich. Duke fellow of Trin. . . . "

Previously to the issue of the first edition of Wood's great work, the "E.W." lines had been printed by Atterbury in "*The Second Part of Mr. Waller's Poems* . . . London, . . . for Tho. Bennet, . . . MDCXC." p. 55 : Fenton also included them in his edition of Waller, 1729, 4to, p. 247, but in his *Observations*, p. lxxviii, he said :

" I have passed over the preceding Poem (*To a Person of Honor, upon his incomparable, incomprehensible Poem, intitl'd The British Princes*) because I am not perfectly convinc'd of its being genuine. But I can with greater confidence assure the reader, that, since this edition was printed off, I have discover'd that these verses to Mr. Creech were written by a person still living ; who, though he has convers'd familiarly with the best Poets of our nation for almost half a century, never profess'd himself a member of the faculty : his name, as well as the motive of his writing them, I am oblig'd to conceal. And further, to shew that commendatory verses are not always the result either of judgment, or candor ; but, sometimes of caprice, or particular views ; I have equal reason to believe that the same person is author of that anonymous Poem which is printed next after Mr. Evelyn's, before the same translation of *Lucretius* ; which has hitherto been ascribed by some to Bishop *Sprat*, to Mr. *Dryden* by others." †

These facts are well known, or, at any rate, easily accessible, but the statement of them here may perhaps be excused as a convenient introduction to the following extract from a letter written by Jacob Tonson to his nephew, and dated April 22, 1728, the original of which is in my possession :

" As for y<sup>e</sup> verses I wrot w<sup>ch</sup> are before Lucretius the occasion of them was as follows. Soon after y<sup>e</sup> first Edition of Lucretius, Mr. Creech came to Town & was very much caressed & esteemed for it ; I brought him to Mr. Dryden & by Mr. Wallers (*sic*) means he was carried to Mr. Waller y<sup>e</sup> Poet. When Mr. Creech returned to Oxford he wrot to me to

\* *Ath. Oxon.* ed. Bliss, iv. 739.

† Oldys in his annotated Langbaine speaks of *Dryden's Epistle before Creech's Lucretius*, published 8vo. 1683.

get Mr. Dryden & Mr. Waller to write some verses to put before y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> Edition; I was much obleidged to him & perticularly for his doing some lives in Plutarch & his shewing mee some parts of his horace & promising mee y<sup>e</sup> printing of it: Dryden really envyed thee (*sic*) reputation hee had gotten by Lucretius & I could not prevail, but being loath to appear not to have interest enough I resolved to try to write a copy that shoud bee taken for Drydens, & soe I wrot that copy w<sup>ch</sup> begins:

How happy had our English tongue been made  
Were but o<sup>r</sup> wit industrious as our trade, &c.

It was taken by Creech & every one else for Dryden's & I trusted noe body w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> secret.

"I knew it was to noe purpose to hope for any thing from Mr. Waller, but succeeding in y<sup>e</sup> former verses, I wrot another copy w<sup>ch</sup> Begins thus:

What all men wished, though few could hope to see  
Wee now are blest with & obleidged to thee, &c.

and put E.W. at the bottom.

"This copy was not soe generally taken for Wallers as the other was for Drydens, and indeed I often wondred Bp Atterbury who publish (*sic*) Wallers Remains printed by Bennet & who has written an ingenious preface to it shoud incert it among them w<sup>ch</sup> he printed surreptitiously from a manuscript he had borrowed from Dr. Birch w<sup>ch</sup> had not any such Copy in it & the 6 or 8 last lines are enough to convince any one that it could not be Mr. Wallers. This is the very truth of these verses."

Malone, in his anxiety to refute the story that Dryden was jealous of Creech and encouraged him to translate Horace, foreseeing his failure and consequent loss of reputation, affirms, without quoting any authority, that these verses were constantly ascribed to Dryden by his enemies *after* (the italics are mine) Creech's ill success.\* He was aware of Fenton's note, but evidently did not know the name of the real author of the lines or the circumstances in which they were written.

\* *The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden*, 1800, i. 507-8. Malone is referring particularly to *The Late Converts Exposed*: 4to, 1690, pp. 53-4, though it is difficult to suppose that Brown did not believe in Dryden's authorship of the lines, however he may have misrepresented his motive in writing them.

(To be continued)

## ELIZABETHAN HANDWRITING FOR BEGINNERS

BY MURIEL ST. CLARE BYRNE

THE research student who works on the literature of the Elizabethan age finds himself confronted sooner or later with the necessity of deciphering the English handwriting of the period ; and he realizes when faced, for example, with his first parish register, that Elizabethan palæography is something which has to be learnt. If he is fortunate enough to be working under supervision he may be sent to attend palæographical lectures or obtain other adequate help ; for the many who are compelled to work independently, however, and those who have no time to follow up the subject for its own sake, there is no one book which at present provides a ready and easy way to knowledge. The purpose of this article is therefore to attempt to gather together for such beginners a necessary minimum of information that will enable them to teach themselves how to read accurately in a reasonable amount of time.

Perhaps the most entertaining introduction to the subject that the beginner could find would be by way of the writing-book from which the first two full-page facsimiles in this article have been taken. Composed originally by Jean de Beau Chesne as a French writing-book it was adapted for English use by John Baildon, and appeared in England in 1571, under the title of *A Booke Containing Divers Sortes of hands, as well the English as French secretarie with the Italian, Roman, Chancelry and Court hands*. It contains a large number of plates of beautifully written alphabets and passages in the different hands, and it is rendered yet more attractive by the preliminary " Rules made by E. B. for his children to learn to write by." Some of E. B.'s hints are still of practical use to the young palæographer : he recommends one, for example, to trace over the letters of a copy with a dry pen when learning a strange hand. He expresses his disapproval of the " dish dash long tail " style of



writing, and gives us a delightful picture of the good Elizabethan child sitting down to his copy with his newly cut goose-quill :

Your thombe on your penne as hiest bestowe,  
The forefinger next, the middle belowe :  
And holding it thus in most comely wyae,  
Your Body vpryght, stoup not wyth your Heade :  
Your Breast from the borde if that you be wyse  
Least that ye take hurte, when ye haue well fed . . .  
Yncke alwayes good stoore on right hand to stand,  
Browne Paper for great hast, elles box with sand :  
Dypp Penne, and shake penne, and tooche Pennes for heare.

Baildon's book, however, is a rarity, to be come by only in such a collection as the British Museum. It is delightful to look at and helpful to the learner, but it is a luxury rather than a necessity. So far as the beginner is concerned its inaccessibility and its lack of commentary leaves him with his need still unsupplied—hence the following practical and elementary notes.

In literary research there are two main kinds of handwriting which the student of this period will encounter. With the beautiful "copper-plate" variety which he may find used consistently in some manuscripts and sporadically in others he will have no difficulty. It has more character and beauty than that old-fashioned copybook hand into which it degenerated and which one learnt at school before the time of the Graily Hewitt system, but it is of course substantially the same and is equally easy to read. This is the Italian hand which was introduced into England at the beginning of the sixteenth century. A fine specimen of such writing, taken from Baildon's book, may be studied in Plate I.

The other kind of handwriting which the student will meet in the majority of texts or private letters and even in certain kinds of records, is the one with which he will experience some trouble. This is the ordinary English current hand used by practically everybody for ordinary purposes until about the end of the century : after 1600 we begin to find it being at any rate partially superseded by the new Italian hand.

This English hand which was eventually completely ousted by the Italian characters is difficult for the novice to decipher for various reasons. In the first place it is often exceedingly minute and cramped, probably because the writer wished to be economical in his use of paper. Faded ink often adds to its difficulty, and a good magnifying glass will prove useful—even essential, perhaps—to the beginner. The intrinsic difficulty of this English script, however,



## *Italique hand*

It is the part of a yonge man to reuerence his elders, and of suche to choose out the beste and moste commended whole counsaile and auctoritie hee maye leane vnto: For the vnskillfulnesse of tender yeares must by old mens experience be ordered & gouerned.

A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R.

S. T. V. X. Y. Z.

D

*Secretaria Chalcet.*

PLATE II.—Secretary Hand (from Baildon and de Beau Chesne).

lies in the fact that a certain number of its letters can in their normal forms present a completely different appearance from those in use to-day. When to this radical difference of form is added that constant factor in handwriting of personal idiosyncrasy it is evident that the Elizabethan current hand needs to be learnt, much as, perhaps, we would to-day learn the German national current hand.

Small letters are known to the palæographer as minuscules, capitals as majuscles. The minuscules in an ordinary Elizabethan hand which will normally differ completely from the modern forms are *c, e, h, k, p, r, s*, while *d, g*, and *n* may present slight but not as a rule troublesome differences. The remainder will be more or less "normal" and recognizable, and the difficulties which they may present to the learner, even after some practice, will be due not to an essential difference of form but to the personal peculiarity of the individual's hand. The drawings give a number of typical forms which the beginner would be well advised to copy for himself until he gets the "feel" of each letter, and begins to see how it is formed. Plate III. shows the letters in connected writing.

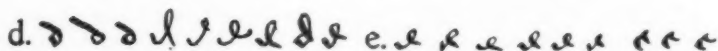
Majuscles may present considerable difficulty, and it will soon be realized that one writer may use two or more forms of the one letter. They may be as plain or as fanciful, or as indistinguishable from the minuscule form, as the writer wishes; they may be as frequent or as rare, as consistent or as inconsistent, as pleases the taste of the individual. Those which in some of their forms are apt to present an especially eccentric appearance to the modern eye are *C, D, E, H, P, S, V*: all, however, may give some difficulty at first, as will be evident from a study of the alphabet in Plate II., taken from Baildon's book.

The following notes on the letters should be studied in conjunction with the illustrations. They are in no sense comprehensive, but they attempt to call the student's attention to a few not entirely obvious points which may aid him in his first efforts or when in difficulties with a peculiarly crabbed hand. When not otherwise stated, it may be assumed that letters in cursive script normally link with both preceding and following letters.

a. *a a u a b* b. *b b b b* c. *c c c c c c c c*

a: as well as normal form there is an open-topped one which might be confused with *u* or an open *o*.

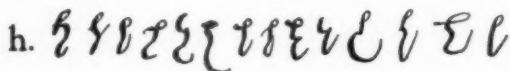
- b : initial loop often left open : could be confused with *k* in some hands : is not linked to following letter.
- c : fundamentally different from modern form : should be made in two strokes, the first a slightly curved upright, and the second a straight and thinner horizontal : in some Elizabethan hands the Italian (modern) *c* will be found consistently used.

d. 

- d : looped form if written small can be confused with *e*.
- e : the lower curve is always formed before the upper one, the last three specimens being formed in the same way as the earlier ones, but with the pen lifted during the up-stroke.

f.  g. 

- f : doubled for capital : majuscule forms when occurring are borrowed from the Italian : in the looped form the down stroke is made first, and the loop, which finishes in a cross piece, is then added. Both *f* and long *s* are sometimes doubled merely by the addition of a second tail.
- g : a squarer-shaped letter than the modern : has an open v-shaped head, which should be closed by a horizontal stroke. "The variety of ways in which the descending limb of letter *g* is treated in examples of the English 'Secretary' hand of this period may justify us in regarding it as a letter in which we might find, from its style, a clue to the identity of the writer."\*

h. 

- h : "the most sinuous letter in the Elizabethan cursive alphabet, and invites a great variety of manipulation without essentially altering its character."\* It evolves naturally from older forms. (See first three specimens.)

\* Both quotations are taken from Sir E. Maunde Thompson's chapter on Shakespeare's handwriting in *Shakespeare's Hand in Sir Thomas More*, ed. A. W. Pollard.

i. *i i v i i*k. *k k k k k k k k k k*i : commonly used throughout for *j*.

k : in formal writing is made in two strokes : the first is practically modern *l*, only with a left-hand spur at the foot, which is then continued to the right to form a horizontal base : the second stroke is like a small 2 or *z* made across the middle of the upright. In its more cursive form (see last three specimens) the whole letter is made without lifting the pen, the spur being omitted and the down stroke curved round and carried up to form the "2," which now may or may not touch or cross the upright.

l. *l l l l l* m. *m m m m m*

l : starting as a more formal letter with a slightly spurred base (see first specimen), *l* becomes in most cursive hands practically indistinguishable from the modern letter.

m : one minim (*i.e.* single down stroke of pen) easily omitted, therefore confusion with *n* or *u* possible.

n. *n n n n n* o. *o o o o o*

n : can be confused with *u* in an angular hand.

o : closed and open forms used : is never joined to following letter : is joined to preceding letters, however, by link from them, except when it follows *b*, *v*, and *w*, which cannot link to following letters.

p. *p p p p p p p* q. *q q q q*

p : in small hand could be confused with *x*, or in certain writings with *h*.

q : last specimen might possibly be confused with *y*.

r. *r r r r r r r*

r : the more formal letter, with or without a preliminary up-stroke,



is very like a small modern *w* : in more cursive hands it develops into a form practically equivalent to modern *v* : the last two specimens given, though resembling modern *z*, could not be confused with Elizabethan *z* which is always tailed.

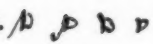


s. 

s : has two forms, long *s* used initially and medially, small *s* used finally : long form can be confused with *f*, although in well-written hands *f* should be distinguishable by its cross-piece : the shaft of long *s* is made before the head curve, and is as a rule a plain down-stroke : it is occasionally ornamented with what appears to be a minute preliminary up-stroke (see Baildon's *st*'s). The method of forming the combination *st* can be seen from Baildon and the specimens—a down-stroke followed by a connecting head-curve. The final *t* in this combination can be confused with *e*.

t.  u. 

t : in looped form can be confused with *b* in some hands : the third specimen given can be confused with *c*.

u : used medially for *u* and *v* : never used initially, and has no majuscule. A few writers use *v* medially as in modern caligraphy. Can sometimes be confused with *n* (see last specimen).

v.  w.  x. 

v : only used initially, where it stands for *u* and *v* : is always used for *U* in majuscule form : does not link with following letter, as, like *b* and *w*, its terminal curve turns back to the left.

w : never joined to following letter.

x : can be confused with *p*.

y.  z. 

y : used finally is often little more than a tail.

Common contractions used by many writers are the following :  $\phi$  = pro : p = per :  $\rho$  (at end of word) = -is, -es or -s : straight line over vowel or *m* or *n* denotes omission of following *m* or *n*. *and* has various contractions : in early manuscripts the sign 7 is sometimes found : the writing masters give the elaborate z-shaped symbol which follows *z* in Baildon's alphabet (see p. 201) : the ordinary cursive hand generally reduces this letter to something like  $\rho$ .

The name given to the writing which has just been described is "Secretary" hand. For most literary manuscripts a knowledge of Secretary is all that the student will require. To avail oneself fully, however, of the vast mass of historical documents at the disposal of research workers, in such public repositories as the Public Record Office and the British Museum, a knowledge of what are generally described as the old law hands is also essential. Some records are written in an ordinary Secretary hand : the average parish register would be a typical example. Records under the Great Seal, however, and documents concerning the Courts of the King's Bench and the Common Pleas are written in what are known respectively as Chancery and Court hand. Both are ugly writings, the former exaggeratedly upright and angular, the latter equally cramped and narrow and flattened. They can be most easily learnt from a study of the excellent plates in Wright's *Court Hand Restored*, and should not be tackled by the ordinary literary student until the Secretary hand has first been mastered.

The average student will not "commence palæographer" until he wishes to read a certain text or perhaps certain letters. After accustoming himself to the specimens in these illustrations, his best plan, if he wishes to learn to read that text accurately, is to procure a manuscript in a hand as nearly as possible resembling it, provided a reliable printed text of this second manuscript is also available. If the hand is a fairly normal one an ordinary and not too difficult specimen to practise upon might conveniently be found in the writing of Anthony Munday the dramatist. An excellent facsimile of his manuscript play *John a Kent and John a Cumber* will be found among the *Tudor Facsimile Texts*, edited by J. S. Farmer : the corresponding printed text was issued by the Malone Society in 1923. If the learner will take the trouble to transcribe a portion of this manuscript, comparing it at first word by word, then line by line, then speech by speech with the Malone text, he will find that after a few pages he will know the hand well enough to read a

8  
After the receipt of the Summation to the City: The City's return  
Liberals of the City have been made of the City of York for  
the City's return in the City (the City's return of the City's return  
the number of the City's return, in January next following one hundred  
and fifty, and some of the City's return two hundred); for the  
City's return and the City's return wages of the City's return  
numbered the City's return and the City's return wages of the City's return  
Borough the City's return of the City's return; the City's return (for-  
the City's return of the City's return) amounting for the City's return to the City's return  
for the City's return money to the City's return of the City's return for the City's return  
and for the City's return wages four pounds for the City's return; the City's return  
for the City's return of the City's return of the City's return money to the City's return  
for the City's return, and for the City's return wages two pounds for the City's return.

PLATE III.—Part of a Privy Council Warrant dated June 24, 1602. Though written by one of the Clerks of the Council, the warrant is in a good "literary" hand.

clearly written passage aloud without much stumbling. As such close work is at first extremely trying to the eyes, it is as well not to attempt to read too much at a time, until the idiosyncrasies of the hand and the different letters become more familiar. After having transcribed a portion of some manuscript in his own handwriting, the student can help himself most by then rewriting passages from his own version in an Elizabethan hand, comparing his efforts afterwards with the original.

Having practised upon an edited manuscript, the beginner would then probably profit most by working through a few specimens of somewhat different hands, such as those which will soon be available in *English Literary Autographs 1550-1650*, edited by Dr. W. W. Greg. After this he should be able to embark upon the text for the sake of which he has undertaken this brief preliminary labour, with the hope of producing a reasonably accurate first transcript. If he is producing a text for a printed edition, he will find that he can probably save himself the fatigue of making a final fair copy if he prepares his original transcript in a neat hand on loose leaves, writing only on one side of the paper and leaving ample space between each line for eventual corrections. Such a transcript should be page for page, and all notes on the handwriting, etc., should be made separately, also page for page.

Books on the subject of palæography abound, but the majority of them either stop short of the Elizabethan period or else devote but little attention to it. A good introduction to the study of handwriting in general is to be found in Falconer Madan's *Books in Manuscript*, and the student who is anxious to learn something of the history and origins of the letters should refer either to the last three chapters of Sir E. Maunde Thompson's *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography*, or else to the same authority's "History of English Handwriting" in volume v. of the Bibliographical Society's *Transactions*. For the detailed history of current writing in general till 1500 and particularly of the law hands Johnson and Jenkinson's *English Court Hand 1066-1500* is the standard work.

All literary students should be acquainted with Sir E. Maunde Thompson's work on this period: in *Shakespeare's England* (vol. i., chap. 10) he deals with "Handwriting" generally: in his *Shakespeare's Handwriting* and in "The Handwriting of the Three Pages attributed to Shakespeare" (chap. iii. of *Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of Sir Thomas More*) he deals with Shakespeare's hand in

particular, but also provides the learner with a great deal of miscellaneous information on Elizabethan hands in general. A student who has got beyond the more elementary stage of his palæographical education should also profit by H. Jenkinson's article on "Elizabethan Handwritings" in vol. iii. (New Series) of the Bibliographical Society's *Transactions*. The number of excellent facsimiles which accompany this last should prove very useful.

Of the various reference books available A. Wright's *Court Hand Restored* (10th edn.) is probably the most helpful for general purposes. It contains a set of very useful plates, giving good alphabets and specimens of the old law hands. For abbreviations and contractions *The Record Interpreter*, by C. T. Martin, can be consulted: while for the same purpose and for alphabets and a good range of specimens of all the letters the student can profitably use A. Chassant's *Dictionnaire des Abréviations Latines et Françaises* and his *Paléographie des Chartes et des Manuscrits du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*.

## SOME CONTRIBUTIONS TO MIDDLE- ENGLISH LEXICOGRAPHY

BY J. R. R. TOLKIEN

IN the compilation of the Middle English dictionaries that are so urgently needed the publication of scraps of lexicographical and etymological information and suggestion may ultimately prove a service worth performing. This is the only possible excuse for the following very minor notes.

I. (a) *Long home*. "To go to one's long home" = "to depart this life" is recorded first in N.E.D. from Robert Manning of Brunne, *Handling Sin*, 9195.

Mr. Sisam points out that it is really far older, descending from OE. verse: it appears in *Fates of the Apostles*, 92 (this passage is now recorded in Bosworth-Toller Suppl. s.v. *Lang*). There is one other occurrence in Old English not so recorded. *The Vision of Leofric* (ed. Napier, *Phil. Soc. Trans.* 1908, pp. 180-188) ends: *he foresæde þo<n>ne dæg þe he sceolde cuman to Cofantreo to his langan hame, þær he on restet*. This instance is specially interesting in showing that the expression meant "grave," and not "the future life," or "heaven" (*se ēca hām*).

(b) *burde*, lady, damsel. This is an interesting word with a long history in English verse, especially in the alliterative tradition, and in the closely related tradition (as far as vocabulary goes) of the ballad. To the ballad, doubtless, is due the occasional use of the word by modern poets such as William Morris. *Burde* is first recorded in Layamon, where so many words first appear (usually with the air of having existed long before; *leofmon*, *lemman*, is a case), and where so many Old English words are used for the last time. So far it has no received etymology. This is an attempt to give it one.

*Bird* (in spite of modern slang), and *bride* are both rightly rejected by the N.E.D.; neither in meaning nor in phonology are



they satisfactory. The ME. forms quite clearly indicate an OE. \*byrde. Phonology would, then, be satisfied by OE. *byrde*, high-born; but this adjective, as is pointed out in N.E.D., is only recorded once in *se byrdesta* in Ælfred's *Orosius*. More serious, however, is the fact that there is nothing to show how or why this adjective survived only as a noun, and became distinctively feminine. The manner in which alliterative verse of all periods developed its synonyms must be considered—especially, for the present purpose, the synonyms for “man” and “woman.” One (common or distinctive) function was selected and used, more and more as the full force of the original etymological sense faded, simply as “man” or “woman” in all circumstances. The original meanings were already so far forgotten in the case of most of the OE. “man”-synonyms as to be more apparent to the modern Germanic philologist than to the Old English poet himself.

The following are some of the best known among them: *secg*, \*follower; *beorn*, \*bear (ON. *björn*, bear); *freca*, \*wolf (lit. greedy one, ON. *freki*, wolf—the sense “warrior” is probably from “wolf” rather than direct from *frec*, greedy); *wiga*, fighter. All these survived into ME. (*segg*, *burn*, *freke*, *wize*), grown still more faded and pale and used merely as “one (male being)”; *wize* (and other synonyms such as *hapel*) could be used of God. The conventional function of “man” that they are all based on ultimately is his duty of being strong and fierce in battle.

The names for “woman” are fewer in number (*fæmne*, *ides*, *mōwle*) and rarely if ever, curiously enough, survive into ME. The attribution, however, of one specific function to “woman” was common to the poetic conventions of both earlier and later Germanic times and to Romance—sewing, embroidery, weaving. This doubtless prompted the figure contained in OE. *freoþowebbe*, lady (peace-weaver). The lady at her loom, the damsel in her bower at her embroidery, were doing the correct thing no less than the knight at his jousting, or on a mission to bring some other damsel back from the clutches of giant or false knight to her home and her embroidery.

One could find passages in which either “damsel” or “embroideress” would fit as translations of *burde*. Notably *Gawain and the Green Knight*, 609 ff.: *enbrawdēn and bounden wyth þe best gemmez on brode sylkyn borde, and bryddez on semez . . . tortors and trulosefz entayled so þyk as mony burde peraboutē had ben seuen*

*wynter in tounē*. As far as sense-development goes "embroideress" would be a very satisfactory original sense for *burde*, and is perfectly in keeping with the manner and ideas of the alliterative verse to which the word originally belongs. It is not, perhaps, so easy to show that this was in fact its origin; the following are indications of the possibility:

The required OE. *\*byrde*, weak feminine, "embroideress" has not, unfortunately, been discovered. The word *borde* embroidery, however, should be noted; it actually occurs in the quotation above. This has been referred to OFr. *bord*, border, hem (it is not in N.E.D. at all), but the word is of Germanic origin, and the ME. word is direct from OE. OE. has *borda*, embroidery (act and product); cf. ON. *borði*. Noteworthy are: *fēmnē æt hyre bordan gerīseð* (the proper place for a woman is at her embroidery), *Exeter Book Gnostic Verses*, 64; ON. *kona sat við borða*; *borða gná*, *borða skögul*, are quoted in Cleasby-Vigfusson, as poetical periphrases for "woman," from the *Lexicon Poeticum* of Sveinbjörn Egilsson. OE. has also a mutated form *\*byrdan* (ON. *byrða*), to embroider, weave figures into tapestry, evidenced in the compounds *be-byrdan*, and *ge-byrdan*, and in the noun *byrding*; there is also *byrdistræ*, and *byrdicge*, embroideress. The form *\*byrde* certainly implies a *nomen agentis* of an older type of formation (*\*burðjō*) than these two last words, and if this is the true etymology of ME. *burde*, the word must have been used in alliterative verse long before 1200 A.D. There are many words in ME. of undoubted etymology of which the same might be said. Having regard to the fragmentary nature and special character of such OE. alliterative verse as has survived, the fact that no *\*byrde* has yet been discovered in it is perhaps no insurmountable objection to the proposed origin of the word.

II. Notes on the glossary to the E.E.T.S. 1922 edition of *Hali Meidenhad*—or *Meiðhad* it should perhaps rather be called, since that is the form used throughout the Bodleian text (B), which offers a purer dialect, a more archaic vocabulary, and often a better text than the Cotton Titus MS. (T).

(a) *wori*, B 704. This is hidden under *weorren*, "make war," the word substituted by T. The extremely consistent phonology and spelling of B forbid this, unless *wori* is emended outright to *weorri*. T, however, not infrequently has a commoner word instead of an archaic or rarer one preserved in B; while here *weorren* must

be taken as transitive, which is not the construction of this verb. Compare the present passage (*þet hare flesches eggunge ne þe feondes fondunge . . . ne wori hare heorte wit*) with *Ancren Riwe*, p. 386, *uor þis mong woreð so þe eien of þe heorte*. The sense is "confuse, distract, trouble." The word is probably to be connected with OE. *wōrig*, weary; OE. *wōrian*, "wander, be confused, fall to pieces," though always intransitive, is perhaps identical.

(b) *mirð*, B 453. This is treated as "mirth" and placed under *murhðe*. *mirð* is not in this consistently spelt text a credible variation of the correct form *murhðe*, which occurs several times. The MS. is probably to be read *nurð*, providing one more instance of the rare word *nurð* "noise," peculiar to the "Katherine" group and the *Ancren Riwe*. See Morris, *O.E. Hom.* i. p. 246, l. 6, and Hall, *Early M.E.* ii. p. 508.

(c) *munnen*, B 341. This is glossed "name" and derived from OE. *nemnan*. The form has no existence. OE. *nemnan* gives *nempen* always in this dialect. The present word should be read *munnen* (OE. *mynnan*), "mention," which is a common word in this group of texts, and is moreover in the present passage required by the alliteration.

(d) *heasci*, B 450. The context is "If your husband became evilly disposed towards you, and became hateful in your sight, *swa þet inker eiper heasci wiþ oper. . .*" The word is glossed "become exasperated," but referred to OE. *hýscan*, "mock." This goes back to a random suggestion of Cockayne's, and though it has survived in N.E.D., is dismissed by an examination of the rigid spelling system of MS. Bodley 34, and of the Corpus Christi MS. of the *Ancren Riwe* which agrees with it minutely. *ea* has invariably the value of short *e* or of long "open" *e*; *sc* invariably signifies *ts*; *sh*[*f*] is always written *sch*, but usually in this dialect OE. *-sc-* appears as *-sk-* from the metathesis *x*. *hýscan* would, then, almost certainly appear as *husken*, possibly as *huschen*. *heasci* can only be interpreted as *hetsi*. This appears to be derived from a hitherto unrecorded OE. *\*hetsian*, which is related to OE. *hete* (Gothic *hatis*) "hatred" as *egsian* to *ege* (Gothic *agis*) "fear." The word is actually recorded once in Gothic: *mis hatizōþ*, ἐμοὶ χολᾷτε, John vii. 23. The meaning is "to show hostility, be wroth." In the only other occurrence of the word that I have been able to discover (*Juliana*, p. 5, *hire feader . . . heande & heascede mest men þe weren cristene*) the sense is "persecute," and the clear

connection of this alliterative formula with *heanen* & *heatien* (*Juliana*, p. 51) and *hatode ond hýnde* (*Beowulf* 2319) confirms the proposed etymology.

(e) *suti* : *pet suti sunne*, B 510 : *ne of pet sar ne of pet suti*, B 551. This is glossed respectively "sooty" and "filth." Neither context nor phonology allows of this. ME. *sūt, sīt*, "grief" (ON. *sūt*, grief, *sýta*, lament), is frequent, but the derived adjective *suti*, "grievous," is not in N.E.D.—probably because the instances given in Bradley-Stratmann are glossed *sooty, foul* there also.

(f) *uleð*, B 20. *A! fals folc of swikel read, as þi muð uleð, as þu schawest forð al þet god puncheð, ant helest al þe bittri bale þet is þer under.* The emendation *useð* is proposed, though "uses" does not give a satisfactory sense. It has not been noted that the same expression occurs in *Katharine*, i. 486, *feire uleð þi muð & murie þu makest hit.* This renders it unlikely that *uleð* is corrupt. The interpretation remains, however, difficult. The alliteration in both passages is, perhaps, in favour of interpreting *u = v = f* (initial *f* is frequently spelt *u, v*, and was presumably voiced). *uleð*, \**fleð* may then be 3rd sg. of a hitherto unrecognized verb : OE. \**flæ(ha)n* (3 sg. \**flæhp*, Anglian \**flæp*) = OHG. *flēhan* (MHG. *vlēhen*, modern German *flehen*) ; MLG. *vlēn* ; MDu., Du. *vleien*. These go back to forms such as *plaihjan, plaihōn*, and are related to the Gothic strong verb *ga-plaihan*. The senses "speak fair, flatter, cajole, wheedle," etc. suit the context admirably. Compare further OE. *flāh*, treacherous ; ON. *flá-r* (*mæla fagrt en hyggja flátt*).

(g) *greni*, B 452, is placed without cross-reference under *grani*, "groan." It is more probably to be treated as *gre[n]ni*, OE. *grennian*, gnash the teeth in anguish ; compare *Ancren Riwele* (Hall, *Early M.E.* p. 56) *grennin & niuelin & makien sur semblant for þe muclele angoise i þe pine of helle.*

(h) *medi*, B 478. *medi wið wicchen* is translated "deal with witches," and emendation to *medli* is proposed. This would constitute the earliest occurrence of "meddle" ; but both texts here have *medi*, which occurs frequently in this group of texts. Compare *Kath.* 414, *medin ham mid mede*, "reward them." Since an alliterative word to *medi* is here absent, inconclusive as this is in this loosely (if highly) alliterated prose, it is possible that *medi wið [mede] wicchen* is what originally stood here—"bribe, purchase the services of, witches." Both B. and T. provide instances (sometimes in the same place, sometimes separately) of the loss of one of the two

elements in an alliterative formula or group of synonyms : e.g. 648, *folhið oþer fulieð* (T. *folhen* only) ; OE. *folgian*, *fyligan*. The gloss "befoul" is wrong. Compare also : 701, *godd hit þeaeð* (T. *þoleð*) *him to muchli þi mede* with *Juliana*, p. 19, *ne mahe ze nawt do me bute he [godd] wule þeauen & þolien* (Royal MS. *þeauen* only) *ow to donne to muchli mi mede*.

(i) *heme and hine*. This is an alliterative formula that has a certain interest because of its occurrence in *The Owl and the Nightingale*.

In B 685-7 we have *ich chulle halde me hal þurh þe grace of godd as cunde me makede, þet paraise selhðe underuo me al swuch as weren, ear ha agulten, his earste hinen* (T. *his earste heamen*). The original probably had *heamen & hinen* (compare previous note). The general sense "inhabitants" is clear ; but the passage must be compared with B 147, "God that makes out of earthly man and woman, heavenly angel ; *of heame* (T. *heane*), *hine* ; of foe, friend ; help, of that which injures thee." It is difficult, purely from etymological considerations, to decide what is the difference between *heame* and *hine*. The present context certainly appears to point to *heame* being of lower grade, as does the T. emendation *heane*, "base ones," if it is not merely the accidental loss of one stroke. In this case the word is probably better connected with OE. *-hæme*, inhabitants of a *-hām* (in place-names) than with *ge-hæme* (once in the form *geheme*), "familiar." The sense will then perhaps be "villagers, rustics" as opposed to "members of the family" (? or "inmates of the monastery" ; so OE. *hīga*, *hīwa*). This is not in accordance with the senses usual in M.E. for *hine* (servant, farm hand). O. & N. 1115 (*children, gromes*), *heme and hine* has also usually been taken to mean "master and servant." If any weight is attached to the occurrences in *Hali Meïðhad*, this will have to be revised. In the glossary *heame* B 147 is treated as a mere error for *heane* ; this seems unlikely.\*

\* Cf. also *Jul.* p. 33 (MS. B) *al mi nest falde cun þet schulde beo me best freond beoð me meast feondes ; & mine inhinen, alre meast heamen*. Royal MS. *ant mine hinen me beoð mest heanen*. Cockayne emended to *hearmen* ; but this is probably another case of this conventional pair.

## NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

### "ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY": A POSSIBLE PROTOTYPE

WILLIAM HAUGHTON's comedy, *Englishmen for my Money; or a Woman will have her Will*, was produced at the Rose by the Admiral's Men c. May 1598, and entered on the Stationers' Register on August 3, 1601. The action of the play passes in London, and the plot concerns itself with the wooing of a rich Portuguese usurer's three daughters by two sets of suitors, the one native the other foreign. The father favours the foreign set, but the three Englishmen win the day. Perhaps the most amusing situation in the merry game of intrigue is where the three girls lure Vandalle, Mathea's Dutch suitor, into a basket, which they lower from an upper window, and, on drawing him up, leave him suspended in mid-air.

Certain indications exist to show that this trick had previously been exploited in English drama. In the Christmas of 1578 Lord Warwick's Men made a single appearance at Court, acting on December 26 "an Invention or playe of the three Sisters of Mantua"\* before the Queen at Richmond. John Drawater's account † for money by him disbursed at the period on behalf of the Revels Office has for its second item:

"For a rope, a pulley, as [? and] basket, to serve in the Earle of Warwicks men plaie;      iiii"

It seems to me that the title of this play, taken in conjunction with the curious properties supplied for its performance, admits of the hypothesis that *The Three Sisters of Mantua* in some degree inspired the plot and "business" of *Englishmen for My Money*. Assuming plagiarism, there could have been no one in 1598 possessing

\* Cunningham's *Revels Accounts* (1842), p. 125.

† *Vide ibid.*, p. 134.



any particular right to resent it. Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, died early in 1590, and the company of players bearing his name is not to be traced after 1592.\* But a prompt copy of *The Three Sisters of Mantua* might readily have survived.

W. J. LAWRENCE

### AN UNPRINTED POEM BY JOHN FORD (?)

IN the course of researches for a new edition of Ford's works I have come across a hitherto unprinted poem which I believe to be from his pen. If so, it is of considerable interest since it may help to provide some further clue to the activities and acquaintances of his later years—a subject on which we are now woefully ignorant.

The poem, which is contained in Egerton MS. 2725 (British Museum), a typical little "Poetical Miscellany" dating from the second quarter of the seventeenth century,† is as follows :

#### A CONTRACT OF LOVE AND TRUTH

[Marye Noel and Erasmus de la Fountayne.]

(Anagramme.)

Soe gold is priz'd, and being chastly pure  
Exceeds all grosser Mettals that endure  
Experiments with losse : as constant Trueth  
Renown'd for perfect tryall, love, birth, youth,  
Excellent sweetnesse, or aught else transcends  
A common Prayse, whose onely Beauty ends  
Lesser [then] when it first beganne ; whiles Worth  
Lowder in sound then *Fame* can set it forth  
Makes Memory a Chronicle whose story  
Of reall meritt amplifies the Glory.  
New ages shall admire, and for fashion  
Yeild their endeavours to an Imitation.  
Example leads to vertue in this *Payre*  
As in a mirrour may be seene how fayre  
Love (without blemish) of two equall Hearts  
Makes one : and like choyce Musicke set in parts  
Orders a perfect harmony. Here measure  
Such reall Constancy, a *reall Treasure*.  
Trueth is not to be bought ; 'tis to be trew,  
Payre, and what makes all beauty fairer, *New*.

\* For their history, see Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II., p. 97.

† The MS. bears no date, though in the British Museum catalogue it is indexed as "circa 1650." But this is decidedly inexact, for some of the pieces must have been entered in the early 'thirties at latest.

A smooth tongue, soft behaviour, winning face,  
 Youth in the spring, courtshippe, delight, wit, grace,  
 Rich plentye, are but meere Deceipts of Art;  
 Except supported by a Noble Heart.  
 Additions then make all estate and blood  
 Noble; when to be great is to be Good.  
 Death sweeps their names away who onely strive  
 Not by Desert, but Glory to survive.  
 End all in this Example without strife:  
 Wise *Love* is here the Husband, *Trueth* the Wife.

These lines are signed "J. Foord" (a common variant of Ford); and against the ordinarily extremely dubious value of such ascriptions in old MS. verse-books \* may be set the following facts:

(1) The verses are of a private nature, the bride they refer to being indeed a near relative of the original owner of the book, who seems to have been one of the Noels, a well-known Rutlandshire family, of ardently royalist sympathies. Further on in the MS. there occurs an eight-lined anagram on "Marye Fountaine" by Ed. Pate, so execrable that it is difficult to read it through at a single sitting; and there is also an elegy on Mary's sister Penelope Noel, signed "A. G." (probably Alexander Gill).

(2) Although "J. Foord" was a sufficiently common name—far too common, as any one will agree who, in vain search for traces of the dramatist, has toiled through the numerous contemporary Wills, etc., bearing this signature—the only other J. Ford known to have written verse was the dramatist's cousin, who published only three or four slight commendatory poems.

(3) The internal evidence is entirely in favour of this piece being the work of the author of *The Broken Heart*, whose own anagram was *Fide honor*, and who consistently specialised in the word Truth and all its connotations in a manner quite peculiar to himself. It is only necessary here to refer to lines 3-6, 8-9, 16-17, and 24-28, which are typically Fordian in sentiment and expression, and may all be closely paralleled from his known work. Though the piece is merely one of those harmless and kindly anagrams wherein the seventeenth century took such keen delight, it is at any rate far better than Ford's acrostic on the Countess of Devonshire, which Gifford stigmatised as "the worst that ever passed the press."

As to the couple here celebrated, the bride, Mary Noel (born

\* Well illustrated by this very MS., which ascribes to "Mr. Murrey of the bed-chamber" a well-known song now supposed to be by Thomas Carey and formerly attributed to Thomas Carew.

in 1609), was the daughter of Edward, Viscount Campden, while the bridegroom was Sir Erasmus de la Fontaine, Knight, of Leicestershire. They were certainly married before 1645—perhaps much earlier; and this fact, together with Gifford's very reasonable conclusion that Ford "acted as a kind of auditor or comptroller for the . . . nobility,"\* offers additional grounds for believing that the congratulatory verses printed above were probably written by the lawyer-dramatist for one of his clients.

BERTRAM LLOYD.

JORDAN'S MONEY IS AN ASSE. 1668.

I HAVE a copy of the ordinary issue of this play which has been treated by its money-catching author in the same manner as he is known to have treated some of his other productions, though the fact has not, I think, been recorded in respect of this. The title and the next leaf, containing a prologue and the actors' names, have been cancelled, and there have been substituted a new title—Wealth | out-witted : | *Or*, | Money's an Ass. | A | Comedy. | Often Acted with good applause | (rule) *Written by Tho. Jordan, Gent.* | (rule) *Et veniam pro laude peto, Laudatus abunde*, | *Non fastiditus si tibi Lector ero.* | Mart. Epig.† | (printer's ornaments) (rule) *London*, | Printed, with License, for the use of the | Author—and a leaf having printed on both sides an address in verse *To the Noble Nourisher, Prudent Preserver, and Cheerful Cherisher of all vertuous Wit, and Laudable Learning*, John Philips, Esq.; in the course of which Jordan says :

This Play was writ by *Me*, & pleas'd the Stage,  
When I was not full fifteen Years of Age.  
But ne're in Print till now; If rawly Writ,  
Consider 'twas *subannuated Wit* :  
Callow Conceptions, new come to the Light,  
Which since are Flesh'd & Fledg'd for freer flight.  
Those days were spent in Love-lines, Drolls and Laughter,  
'Tis time now to be serious; hereafter  
To younger Heads, I'll leave these Ayre things,  
And plume my *Poetry* with *Pious Wings*.

He seems to feel some doubt as to whether John Philips, Esq.

\* Ford's Works, 1827 (Introduction).

† The Editor has kindly called my attention to the fact that this quotation is really from Ovid, *Tristia*, I. vi. 31-32.

will ever read the play, and this perhaps emboldens him to represent it as printed for the occasion, in spite of the fact that the end of the text is immediately followed by Kirkman's advertisement, in which it appears under its original title.

G. T.-D.

#### ST. CECILIA'S DAY, 1686.

No record of any performance to celebrate this day has been printed : Malone says \* there appears to have been none, and Husk states † definitely that there was not, and gives as a reason the disastrous result of that of the previous year. I venture to think that this is open to doubt, for I have, on a small-folio single-sheet, *A Song for St. Cæcilia's Day, Nov. 22, 1686, Written by Mr. Tho. Flatman, And Composed by Mr. Isaac Blackwell, London, Printed for John Carr at the Middle-Temple Gate, 1686.* This piece does not appear in any edition of Flatman's poems, and it unfortunately came into my hands too late to be submitted for inclusion in Vol. III. of the *Caroline Poets*.

G. T.-D.

\* *Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden*, I. i. 274.

† *An Account of the Musical Celebrations on St. Cecilia's Day*, 1857, p. 21.

## WILLIAM ARCHER

(b. 23 Sept. 1856 ; d. 27 Dec. 1924)

THE late William Archer is memorable as a critic whose sane and instructed judgment did much to recover English drama for literature from triviality. He naturalised Ibsen, and helped to train a generation of intelligent playgoers, some of whom must have been considerably disconcerted by his ultimate excursion into coloured melodrama. Incidentally he was attracted by the problems of Elizabethan staging, and brought his knowledge of theatrical psychology and technique to bear upon their discussion in a series of papers, of which the most noteworthy appeared in *The Quarterly Review* at dates so far apart as 1908 and 1924, and in a comprehensive chapter on *The Playhouse*, written in collaboration with Mr. W. J. Lawrence for *Shakespeare's England*, in 1916. His range of interest was wide, and his *Poets of the Younger Generation* remains a valuable survey of the literary tendencies of 1902.

## MEMORIAL TO THE LATE PROFESSOR W. P. KER

WE commend the following letter to the notice of all readers of the *Review of English Studies* who have not already subscribed to the Fund :—

SIR,

Among the many distinguished services rendered by the late Professor W. P. Ker to literature and learning, the institution of the Department of Scandinavian Studies in the University of London is of special interest. He threw himself into the foundation of the Department with very great zeal. He had been teaching Icelandic to his students for years, but that was not enough ; there must be a full equipment for the teaching of the Scandinavian (or, as he preferred to call it, the Northern)

contribution to human learning. Inevitably he was chosen the first Director : in the last public speech he delivered at University College, he said, " May I add the piece of advice not to forget Mr. Helweg's Danish Ballads. Those are my last words " ; and as he was leaving the College, he added, " I am anxious about Scandinavian Studies, they must be kept going."

The original Fund, which was raised to finance the Department for four years, is now exhausted. The staff consists of a Director, to which office Professor J. G. Robertson has been elected in succession to Professor Ker ; a Lecturer in Danish, a Lecturer in Norwegian, and a Lecturer in Swedish.

Professor Ker's friends and old students are anxious to do honour to his memory in every way possible : it is felt that there is nothing that would please him better than to endow permanently one of the three Lectureships and to name it after him. For this purpose an annual income of £500 is required.

We invite all those who are willing to assist to communicate with Sir Edmund Gosse as promptly as possible. Contributions to the W. P. Ker Memorial Fund (either in the form of donations or in the form of subscriptions, spread over a period of three or five years) should be sent to the Treasurer, Sir Gregory Foster, at University College, London.

I am,

Yours faithfully,  
(Signed) EDMUND GOSSE,  
Chairman of the Scandinavian Studies  
Committee.  
FRANCIS PEMBER,  
All Souls College, Oxford.  
A. D. GODLEY,  
Magdalen College, Oxford.  
R. W. CHAMBERS,  
Quain Professor of English, Uni-  
versity College, London.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.  
January, 1925.



## REVIEWS

**The Philosophy of Grammar.** By OTTO JESPERSEN. London : George Allen & Unwin. 1924. Pp. 359. 12s. 6d. net.

IN June 1921, Professor Jespersen wrote the Preface to his great book on *Language*, and now, in less than three years more, we have what is in some ways an even more important book on the *Philosophy of Grammar*. The performance is a remarkable one, and has only been possible because these books represent the culmination of the work of a lifetime spent in the study of these problems. The new book is even more important than the old because, though the question of the nature, development and origin of language is one which will always interest seekers after knowledge, the problem of grammar is of much more practical importance, as upon the right understanding of it must ultimately depend our whole attitude towards what is right and wrong in speech-usage. For some years now, grammar has been in a parlous condition so far as the man in the street is concerned, and even in the schools. The reason for this is clear. The chief grammatical terms in use were established in their present position at the time of the Renaissance if not earlier, while vast changes have overtaken all modern languages, not only in their morphology but also in their syntactical usages, during the last four hundred years. Those who have realised this have reacted to the new condition of things according to their natural predilections. The average man, feeling how far speech usage has moved from the ordinary grammatical rules and terminology, looks askance at the whole business and feels that grammar has become so artificial and out of touch with realities that the game is not worth the candle. The classical scholar, sighing for the apparently simpler and more logical grammar of the classical languages, and anxious to make the path from English to those languages easier, has endeavoured to read into the English language all those rules and terms of grammar which he finds in Latin or Greek, and to construct a grammar which shall be

common to all these languages alike. The student of modern languages, with much the same motives but with a good deal less cause, has often followed suit.

It is clear that the time has come for a re-consideration of the whole matter, and our best thanks are due to Professor Jespersen for having given one to us, marked by all that acuteness of analysis, aptness of illustration, and clarity of exposition which we have come to associate with his name. Other scholars, notably Noreen in Sweden and Brunot in France, have attempted a similar task, but their works, valuable as they are in many ways, suffer from their very excellences. They start as it were *de novo* and re-construct grammar from first to last almost without reference to the inherited framework that has come down to us through the ages. This is faulty historically, and has the practical disadvantage that their entirely new methods of analysis and terms for expressing their ideas stand no chance of general adoption. Jespersen, on the other hand, has in many ways been extraordinarily conservative. The exposition of his own views largely takes the form of a re-statement or re-interpretation of the old definitions and terminology, and where he does suggest new terms they are almost always both simple and convincing.

Let us look at some of Jespersen's conclusions, so that we may see in greater detail his whole attitude towards the matter. The "parts of speech" remain almost intact. Substantives and adjectives remain, but their true difference is made much clearer by Jespersen's observation that the adjective is always more general in its application than the substantive, and is, as a natural consequence, used to specialise the reference of the noun. Pronouns are kept, but it is made clear that their character of "substitute" words is shared equally with numerals and the so-called pronominal adverbs. Adverbs and prepositions and conjunctions are grouped together as "particles," there being no reason to separate *on* in "put your cap *on*" and "put your cap *on* your head," than there is to postulate two parts of speech in the *sings* of "he *sings*" and "he *sings* a song," while we make a purely artificial distinction when we separate the *after* of "after his arrival" from that in "after he had arrived."

In the discussion of "Subject and Predicate" (Chapter XI.), Jespersen raises two important points to which he has again and again to make reference, viz. the confusion which has often arisen in our discussion of grammar from our use of terms such as "subject"

and "object," which have other meanings in other contexts, and, what is even more important, viz. that grammar is not logic or psychology, valuable and interesting as consideration of the relations of grammar and logic may be. Here, as elsewhere, it is important to distinguish between syntactic and notional categories. If we say that Latin *vapulo* "I am thrashed" is a passive in spite of its active form we are confusing the two uses of active and passive, first in relation to bodily or mental activity and passivity, and secondly in relation to syntax. It is this last point which gives its characteristic quality to Jespersen's discussion of Case and of Tense, the two grammatical categories which furnish the greatest difficulties to the student of modern grammar. So far as Case is concerned he has no difficulty in showing that if we take case purely as a category of meaning, the defenders of a five-case system in English land themselves in inextricable difficulties. Who can say just what the particular meaning of the dative or the accusative is?—how can we separate the case of *boy* in "I gave the *boy* the book" from that of *to the boy* in "I gave the book *to the boy*"? Even more suggestive is the treatment of Tense. Here, more than ever, we suffer from the poverty and ambiguity of our terminology. We use the terms past, present, and future, as categories of meaning and also as categories of grammar. Thus, we speak of both present time and present tense, though a present tense may express future time, as in "I *go* to-morrow," or a future tense may be used to express a mere supposition or surmise with regard to the present time, as in "he *will* already *be asleep*," and the truth is that with regard to each verb we need to consider first what its tense is, as determined by its form, and secondly what is the actual time to which it refers. In dealing with case, tense, and mood alike, Jespersen is consistent in laying stress on form, as distinct from meaning, being the determining factor in our definitions of these terms. His fundamental principles are that "In dealing with the grammar of a particular language it is important to inquire as carefully as possible into the distinctions actually made by that language, without establishing any single category that is not shown by actual linguistic facts to be recognised by the speech-instinct of that community or nation," and "when we ask for the recognition of only such categories as have found formal expression, we must remember that 'form' is to be taken in a very wide sense, including form-words and word-position." The question, *how many* and *what* grammatical categories a language distinguishes, must be

settled for the whole of that language, or at any rate for whole classes of words, by considering what grammatical functions find expression in form, even if they do not find such expression in all and every case where it might be expected; the categories thus established are then to be applied to the more or less exceptional cases where there is no external form to guide us (pp. 49, 50, 51).

The history of the grammar is very much the same as the history of the sounds of our language, viz. a consistent refusal on the part of grammarians to recognise what has already happened, and a determined effort to "save the phenomena" by ingenious and unreal explanations.

One may quote a few examples of this with Jespersen's comments:

(a) In "We *tea'd* at the vicarage," we are told that *tea* is a substantive used as a verb. The truth is that we have a real verb, just as real as *dine* or *eat*, though derived from the substantive *tea*. To form a verb from another word is not the same thing as using a substantive as a verb, which is impossible (p. 62).

(b) "*Who steals my purse steals trash.*" In this sentence the italicised words, says Jespersen, form a clause which is the subject of the verb. "But there is a kind of pseudo-grammatical analysis against which I must specially warn the reader; it says that in sentences like this the subject of *steals trash* is a *he* which is said to be implied in *who*, and to which the relative clause stands in the same relation as it does to *the man* in *the man who steals*—one of the numerous and uncalled-for fictions which have vitiated and complicated grammar without contributing to a real understanding of the facts of the language" (p. 104).

(c) In sentences like "He is a friend of John's," we are told that there a noun is understood: "of John's" means "of John's friends," so that the sentence is equivalent to "He is one of John's friends." Here "of" means "out of the number of." But *is* "a friend of John's friends" = one of John's friends? (p. 111, note).

(d) "I found the cage empty." It is usual to say here that *the cage* is the object and that *empty* is used predicatively of, or with, the object, but it is more correct to look upon the whole combination "*the cage empty*" as the object. This is particularly clear in sentences like "I found *her gone*" (thus did not find her!) (p. 122).

(e) "Among expressions for the simple past we must here also mention the so-called historic present, which it would be better to call the unhistoric present, or, taking a hint thrown out by Brugmann,

the *dramatic* present. The speaker in using it steps outside the frame of history, visualising and representing what happened in the past as if it were present before his eyes" (p. 258).

(f) "There is really no necessity for such terms as 'Future Perfect in the Past,' for *would have written*, which, as we have seen, in its chief employment has nothing whatever to do with future time, and which still retains some trace of the original meaning of volition in its first element" (p. 282).

One has spoken of the more controversial aspects of Jespersen's book, for undoubtedly these are the ones which are of the most serious import for the future of linguistic and more especially of syntactic studies, but there are other chapters on "Junction and Nexus," "Number," "Person," "Sex and Gender," "Comparison," "Negation," which are full of brilliant *aperçus*, subtle analysis of idiom, and penetrating insight into the whole nature of language as a living growth. They make the *Philosophy of Grammar* not the forbidding book which the title might perhaps suggest, but one which makes as good reading as one could desire.

One final word. Jespersen, in his concluding chapter, speaks of the influence which his views, if accepted, must have upon the teaching of grammar, first in the advanced stages and then in the more elementary ones. He hesitates to suggest how those changes should be brought about until he sees how this book is received by the scholars to whom it is addressed. To the present writer at least it seems that there can be little doubt about that reception, but however that may be, may one urge upon Professor Jespersen the desirability of his showing us, as soon as may be, this new view of grammar in actual working, so to speak? To use a homely proverb, "the proof of the pudding lies in the eating," and if he could give us a short English Grammar on the basis of the principles of the present volume, there is little doubt that a long stride towards the ultimate acceptance of them would be made. He has done something towards that end in his *Modern English Grammar*, but that work is of much too wide a scope and of too definitely historical a character to answer the purpose adequately.

ALLEN MAWER.

**The Finn Episode in Beowulf : An Essay in Interpretation.** By R. A. WILLIAMS. Cambridge : at the University Press. 1924. Pp. xii + 171. 10s. net.

PROFESSOR R. A. WILLIAMS tells us that his work on the Finn Episode in Beowulf "originated in studies devoted to the history of the Niebelungen Saga." The resemblance between the Niebelungen story and the Finn story, which has often been noted, attracted him and led to the present investigation. The most important part of the work is a study of the text of the Episode, which is followed by a reconstruction of the Finn story on the lines of the Niebelungen story. The text of the Episode is subjected to a minute examination (the discussion on *forþrinȝan* fills some six pages) in order to discover all the meanings that may be contained in it. To the task the writer brings an unusually wide grammatical and syntactical knowledge. His intensive method produces results both stimulating and provocative for which, and for a scrupulous adherence to the text, all students must be grateful. One wonders whether Professor Williams realizes how nearly his own work turns traitor ; for it stresses heroically the ambiguity which occurs with such devastating frequency in the text of the Episode and, in so doing, produces material for questioning his deductions.

Any study of the Finn story must include a discussion of *Eotena*, *Eotenum*. Of *Eotena treowe* (*Beowulf*, 1072) we have a detailed and most interesting investigation wherein it is shown that the phrase has four possible meanings ; of these "the most probable," the loyalty of the Danes to each other, is adopted. Though the other instances are not treated so elaborately (in one case there is practically no discussion) the conclusion is the same : the Eote (*Eotens*) are Hnæf's men. This *may* be true, but each of his careful examinations suggests possibilities which would materially alter his interpretation of the story. In a discussion on the meaning of *Eotena*, *Eotenum*, Professor Williams rejects "Jutes" and has, obviously, no interest in the possible identification of Garulf of the Fragment with Gefwulf of *Widsith* ; he argues rather for "giants", disarming his critics here, to some extent, by using the term "hobby-horse" in connection with this view, and riding it in the discreet obscurity of an appendix.

Professor Williams' interpretations permit him to reconstruct a



Finn story closely resembling the Niebelungen story. In any such reconstruction treasure must play a part; in this case *wea-laf* of the Episode connotes treasure. This is a matter of such moment that an outline of the argument must be given. Although *wea-laf* is authenticated twice in Anglo-Saxon as "survivors", it is shown here clearly that there is an equal chance of its meaning "persons" or "things", and that in the Episode it signifies something (such as "retainers" or "treasure") which is of great importance to Finn and Hengest; and, further, that the *wea-laf* is in Hengest's possession before the opening of the negotiations. The following passage weighs down the balance on the side of "treasure":

þæt hie him oðer flet      eal ʒerymdon,  
healle ond heah-setl,    þæt hie healfre ʒeweald  
wið Eotena bearn      agan moston.

(*Beowulf*, 1086-1088.)

This is rendered, "that they (Finn and his counsellors) should hand over to him (Hengest) another dwelling with hall and throne, that they (Finn and his counsellors) should have opportunity to dispose of one half of the treasure as against the son of the Eotens (Hengest)." Of vital importance here is the translation of *oðer flet eal ʒeryman*, which is taken to mean "hand over, give possession of, a whole hall." The commentary continues "*(healfre)* cannot refer . . . to *healle* immediately preceding, since, as shown above, the hall is to be given over completely to the Danes. The only other alternative is to connect it with *wea-lafe*." Now *wea-laf* is equivalent to "retainers" or "treasure," and as no prince would consent to a "divided control" over retainers, *wea-laf* must mean "treasure." Moreover, Professor Williams holds that *icʒe ʒold* (*Beowulf*, 1107) is Hnæf's treasure, which, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, is to be shared between Finn and Hengest. He comes to this conclusion partly on syntactical grounds and partly because he is unwilling to allow the destruction of treasure on a royal pyre. Surely archæological evidence is against him here, even if we must ignore that furnished by the funerals of Beowulf and Scyld Scefing. Whatever opinion may be held as to the meaning of *eal ʒeryman* and *healfre* above, the suggestion that *wea-laf* may mean "treasure" remains one of great interest.

This reconstruction of the Finn story involves several new situations, one or two of which may be mentioned. After the

treaty, Hengest's men depart to occupy their new hall, while he remains behind with Finn—in some sort as a hostage. The argument for this is too elaborate to be treated in a short review, but attention may be drawn to one point. In the treaty Finn swears that he will honour Frisians and Danes equally with gifts *dozora zehwylce*. This does not necessarily mean "every day" (the rendering "daily" given in the translation is a little surprising); it may connote "on every occasion" when a distribution of treasure takes place, but even so it is difficult to see how the balance is to be maintained in this matter between Frisians, who are always with Finn, and Danes, who are at a distance from him. The importance of Hengest is recognized to the full; he is, indeed, the outstanding figure of the story, and is largely responsible for the initial clash which leads up to the fight of the Fragment.

Again, it is suggested that the pause before placing the body of Hildeburh's son on the pyre is caused by the fact that he was not entitled to such an honour, probably because he was too young. This very interesting hypothesis ignores, however, the natural explanation of the delay—a mother's reluctance to give up all that remains to her of her son.

Last, there is the insistence on the old meaning of *synn* in the translation of *unsynnum* as "without a feud," "where there was no feud," instead of the accepted "guiltless" or "innocent"; this is admirable and will be of permanent value in the interpretation of the story.

Professor Williams' reconstruction of the Finn tale is frankly influenced by the Niebelungen tale, and he evolves an elaborate opening for which there is really very little foundation. Is this treatment sound? To demand of two stories (one of them fragmentary) which possess important elements in common that they develop on parallel lines is to deny, to a great extent, the possible varieties of human experience and the creative power of man. Because we have more than one story of the heroic age dealing with an attack on a brother-in-law, it does not follow that "wife's brother" in that period must be scheduled as a "dangerous occupation." If, then, we rule out reconstruction on the analogical method, what remains? An interpretation based on internal evidence? Here it is doubtful if the extant Finn material will suffice: it is certainly ambiguous, and that at more than one crisis in the story, while there is not always agreement on matters of detail. It is this

uncertainty which helps to make the Finnsburg problem one of the most fascinating and tantalizing in Anglo-Saxon studies, and the new theories put forward by Professor Williams do not detract from its charm. His scholarly discussion of all possibilities gives his work outstanding value, even though it is inevitable that the acceptance of this or that solution must remain a matter of personal bias.

ELSIE BLACKMAN.

**Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques and Plays at Court.**

A descriptive catalogue of Drawings for Scenery and Costumes mainly in the Collection of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G., with Introduction and Notes by PERCY SIMPSON and C. F. BELL. Oxford: Printed for the Walpole and Malone Societies at the University Press. 1924.

SEVENTEEN years or so back two men were discussing the censorship of plays, the one exclaiming loudly against the iniquities of the King's reader and the Lord Chamberlain. "Well," said the other, finally, "why did you get rid of the Stuarts? The English official attitude towards art has been hopeless ever since."

And truly, as one turns the pages of this book, it does seem as if the Courts of the first James and Charles at least must have been happy havens for the artist. Elizabeth had patronised the theatre, but when it came to masqueing she was apt to wince at the cost. James was for plays and masques both, and Charles, with his fine taste for the pictorial, followed and bettered the showier part of his example. And really it is cheering reading, the description of the "... rich Masquing suite for his Majesties royall person of aurora Cullor and white sattin embroidered with silver ..." with its "... great upper sleeves and under bases upon white satin watchet richly al over with fine silver purles plates and silver oes ..." with its "... plume of white feathers with a faire sprig of egretts ..." its "bassatash silk hose ..." and its shoes with silver roses on them. He and his pages cost about £1,200 to dress for the occasion, but it was worth while. He must have made a fine figure in *Cælum Britannicum* upon Shrove Tuesday night in 1633.

And to have seen Henrietta Maria a few years later in *Salmacida Spolia* when "there came softly from the upper part of the Heavens"

—the stage-manager ran some risk, it would seem, of breaking the royal limbs—"a huge cloud of various colours, but pleasant to the sight, which descending in the midst of the sceane open'd, and within it was a transparent brightness of thin exhalations, such as the gods are feigned to descend in, in the most eminent place of which her Majesty sate, representing the chiefe Heroin, environed with her marshall ladies. . . ." One compares this with photographs of "amateur theatricals" at Osborne in good constitutional Queen Victoria's days. Must a taste for art and tyranny ever go together? That question is, however, beyond the scope of this Review.

For the book and its admirable editing all students should be grateful. It is, of course, an important contribution to the history of the masque. But further, as Mr. Percy Simpson in his introduction reminds us, its scenic designs are valuable material for the history of the theatre too. And they point to a period which has been unduly neglected. Had Shakespeare lived to old age we should have made more ado about it. And had we not been disposed to associate him too exclusively with the Globe theatre we might have escaped the untenable assumption of the ordinary text-book—*a priori* untenable—that after the Puritan interval the drama passed at a bound from the non-scenic to the scenic stage. It is this period, from 1609 (when the second Blackfriars opened) to the general suppression of 1653 that now needs particular study. It saw, one must suppose, a slow change of stagecraft. This, it may be said, is obvious enough in the extant texts of the plays. True, but the influences that determined it are not. In this book of Inigo Jones's designs we may discern a few, those that sprang directly from Court taste and requirements. To what extent they filtered through to the private theatres, how far they were transformed there, how the clash of artistic interest between Public and Private theatres was adjusted, these are matters for further and more troublesome inquiry.

But that Inigo Jones's designs dictated the scenic methods which still prevail, by and large, in the English theatre, there can be no doubt. Only very lately has there been any revolt from them; and the night scene for Davenant's *Luminalia* might belong to any conservative production to-day. Truly Mr. C. F. Bell notes in it the influence of Rubens, "the Father of Modern Landscape," and it is not quite typical. The formal architectural designs are probably more significant of the stagecraft—both of masque and play—which

Jones had to complement and illustrate. For the masques at least, the aim is decoration rather than illusion. The word is, of course, open to a dozen interpretations, each shading into the next; but "illusion" in the sense of the persuasion of the audience that Queen Henrietta Maria *was* an Amazon, that these *were* forests and rocks and clouds, was obviously not sought for. For there would be the steps from the stage, and down them the masquers would come in a minute or two for their dance. The effect aimed at was one of beauty for its own sake, coupled with the giving of great surprise and pleasure—a childish pleasure which even we, in this sophisticated age, can experience—when the great cloud floated on and opened, or the magic temple turned about and every one was left wondering however that was done. From beginning to end and in all its aspects the masque was decorative. What then was the influence of its scene-craft on the drama? The answer, when it is determined, is not likely to be a simple one.

One of the most interesting series of scenes (365-378: "The Tragic scene and designs apparently connected with it") the editors have not, but for one plate (XLVIII.), reproduced. We defer to their judgment (as they may have to necessity) and hope for some other chance of seeing these fourteen drawings. For their great interest lies in the fact that upon the back of one of them, and seemingly linking the others to it, is a synopsis of scenery which pretty certainly must belong to a play. And if it does, it points to a very fully developed use of scenery indeed. Research may identify the play and date the drawings. Meanwhile it is worth remarking this about them; \* 372 is inscribed "An army," and presumably the editors associated it with the "too campos" of the synopsis. In the design appear, not only buildings and trees and mountains, but the army itself.† And in "378," "A dream," appear numerous figures; the oval opening in clouds is noted to be "of past bord finto," Inigo Jones's phrase, it would seem, for a completely painted effect. In 373 also, figures appear; and 374 shows us both a room and its furniture. Here, then, is a play's scenery that is not only decorative but fully pictorial. If any illusion is striven for, it will be of a different sort to that which the actor is creating. Not, in fact, a subservient background, whatever else it may be.

\* I depend upon the descriptions, but these seem admirably clear.

† Just as in Davenant's *The Cruelty of the Spaniards*, a "lantdchap of the West Indies" includes the natives in their naturall sports of hunting and fishing. See Lawrence's *Elizabethan Playhouse*, Second Series, p. 135.

Without wishing to rest too close an argument upon these few drawings, it is obvious that the battle between scenery and the acted drama was early joined. This was bound to be. And Ben Jonson's revulsion against "... the Merit and Reputation of Maistre Ynygo Jones," his sardonic

Painting and carpentry are the soul of masque,  
Pack with your peddling poetry to the stage,

show discernment of it. But the stage that had given birth to Jonson's—and to Shakespeare's—peddling poetry was doomed; and it was Inigo Jones who, all unwittingly no doubt, was its chief betrayer. His business was with masques. How could he help it if the echoes and rumours of their splendour bred discontent among the patrons of the Blackfriars and even among the humble folk at the Globe, and so set the ever-obliging players discarding their tapestries and exchanging their platform with its inner stage for proscenium and background, and the wonderful new art of "prospective."

The process of the change still needs study. Its history is interwoven with the development of Restoration comedy. We cannot judge the stagecraft of Dryden's more serious work without knowing it, nor approach the change of taste which led to the revising of Shakespeare and, with the coming of Betterton, to the growth of a tradition of tragic acting that lasted its two centuries and more. There is as much to be learnt about drama without a knowledge of the theatre it was written for as there is about navigation without ever going to sea.

But one can only reiterate thanks for such a book as this. It will be relied upon for much future work on its subject, and quite evidently it can be relied on. If one might suggest a next step, there is room for some technical study of the stage mechanics of the masques. It will not of course do to take the glowing descriptions too literally of how clouds descended from the sky and opened, discovering the Queen and her ladies in a blaze of glory. Little as the English theatre has progressed mechanically, seventeenth-century equipment was probably not superior to that of to-day, and we know what such effects now come to in practice upon the best regulated stages. Nor must the formal designs mislead us. Then, as now, they'll rather represent what the artist hopes may happen than what finally does occur. But note design 349 with



its inscription "To trye yf this great cloude may com doune between the groupes and then bee drawne open." A page later we have a rough working drawing of the effect aimed at. It would be interesting to ask a modern stage engineer how he would contrive it. How Jones and Webb did contrive it is apparently made clear in 321 and 322, ground plan and section of the stage and machinery. But I think we may be pretty certain that Plate XL., which purports to be the complete design, is a very fancy picture indeed. One would like, too, a little technical elucidation of the "... great stage in the banquetting house XL foote square and iiij foote in heighte with wheeles to go on." One hopes it had not to go very far.

Even the editors seem to be a little carried away. Mr. Percy Simpson writes of the "richly varied schemes of light and colour," very much as Ben Jonson did in the days of his enthusiasm. No doubt they were very beautiful, the more so in the unity and in a certain simplicity of intention which distinguishes Jones's entire work. But candles are candles and lamps are lamps. And for comparative purposes one needs to give besides just a glance or two through that jaundiced eye—of Ben repentant that ever he had had to do with such childish nonsense.

HARLEY GRANVILLE-BARKER.

**Les Sources françaises de Oliver Goldsmith.** By ARTHUR LYTTON SELLS. Paris. Librairie Edouard Champion. Pp. viii. +235. 15 francs. November, 1924.

THE task now accomplished in the book under review has long invited the energies of literary researchers. Various attempts, albeit fragmentary or desultory, have been made to perform it; and such writers as the late Austin Dobson in England, M. Joseph Texte in France, and certain American scholars, have already thrown considerable light on the subject. Mr. Sells has not merely gathered up these scattered threads and woven them into an artistic fabric of his own, but has also contributed much that is new.

Goldsmith is a striking example of that cosmopolitanism which is perhaps the outstanding characteristic of European literature in the eighteenth century, and which chiefly manifested itself by international plagiarism or imitation on a larger scale than has

ever happened before or since, except possibly during the later Renaissance. Goldsmith was thoroughly competent to play a part in the movement, for he possessed a sound knowledge of the French language, acquired probably through youthful association with the Irish Roman Catholic clergy, who—in those days at all events—obtained a large part of their clerical training in France. This preliminary knowledge was increased by his year's sojourn on the Continent, at a time when French was the *lingua franca* of Europe. On his return his acquaintance with French literature was turned to advantage in numerous review articles, and the fact that he had actually conversed with some of the most eminent French authors of the day gave animation and assurance, if not always discernment, to what he wrote. The sale of his property after his death in 1774 proves that he had a large collection of French books.

The authors from whom he borrowed most were the Marquis d'Argens, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, La Bruyère, and, above all, Marivaux, who in many respects was a kindred spirit, and who was then more highly esteemed in England than La Bruyère himself. The latter, whom Goldsmith considered unequalled in his way, undoubtedly counted for a great deal in furnishing him with models of good-natured social satire. Voltaire's Attic lucidity may have influenced Goldsmith's style, though his early letters home already show much of that humorous and debonair simplicity which is one of his most delightful qualities.

Taking his essays first, we find that he frequently translated whole passages from the *Lettres chinoises* and other works of D'Argens, but especially from the periodical writings of Marivaux—*Le Spectateur français*, *L'Indigent philosophe*, *Le Cabinet du philosophe*, and a few contributions to *Le Mercure*. At other times he skilfully adapts the borrowed portion, transforming the local colour to suit his English readers, making the thing more realistic, and often improving on the original. At times he composes a mosaic or patchwork by piecing together two or more passages from his French materials. Often he takes a mere hint or suggestion, and elaborates it into something wholly new. Sometimes he abridges or paraphrases. It is scarcely necessary to point out, however, that in all his work there still remains the large mass of original matter, quite apart from his great contribution to letters—his inimitable style, which will always baffle analysis.

It is not possible to agree entirely with the author of this thesis

when he opposes the accepted view that in his *Citizen of the World* Goldsmith is chiefly indebted to Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*. The novel-like *scheme* of the *Citizen* is almost identical with that of the *Lettres persanes*, though no doubt Goldsmith took much less of his subject-matter from Montesquieu than from the other sources named. As for the "Man in Black" and "Beau Tibbs"—Goldsmith's most brilliant original contributions to the *Citizen*—he probably took the name of the former from "a man dressed in black" whom one of D'Argens's own Chinamen met at Paris, while he may have obtained hints for the character of the Beau from a farmer with similar foibles in Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*. And just as Lyttelton anticipated Goldsmith by borrowing the title of the "Persian Letters" for a similar work of his own, even so Goldsmith borrowed the alternative title of the "Chinese Letters" from Fougeret de Monbron's *Le cosmopolite, ou le citoyen du monde*, the other title being doubtless taken from D'Argens.

In the *Vicar* we find the same methods employed. Much of the *Vicar*, as of many other novels, is essentially essay-work, not pure narrative or dialogue. The *Vicar* has indeed aptly been described as an extended letter in the manner of the *Spectator* of Steele and Addison. Mr. Sells brings forward a good many French originals for the short moral disquisitions interspersed throughout the story, and also for the characters of Mr. Burchell and Dr. Primrose. The contrast drawn between the virtue and tranquillity of the countryside and the vices and agitation of the town may perhaps in large measure be traced to Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse*, while the *Vicar*'s discourses on social matters, such as penal reform, and on the idea of a social contract between the members of any community, owe something to Rousseau's *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* and *Le Contrat social*. All these works of Rousseau appeared before Goldsmith began to write the *Vicar of Wakefield*.

The debts thus far enumerated were unavowed by Goldsmith, though allusions to the French writers concerned are frequent in his essays and articles. But in the case of his largest compilation, the *History of Animated Nature*, he frankly admits his indebtedness, giving chapter and verse for his borrowings from famous French naturalists of the day, especially Buffon. In spite of a few ludicrous errors, Goldsmith performed a great international service in thus putting before English readers the fruits of the efforts of contemporary French scientists, travellers, and explorers.

Turning now to his plays, we find that it was chiefly the English playwright, Farquhar, and the Frenchmen, Voltaire and Marivaux, who helped to form his conception of comedy. Not only as moralists and idealists, but also in their insight into feminine psychology, Marivaux and Goldsmith have marked affinities. There are, besides this general temperamental resemblance, a certain number of obvious parallelisms of situation and idea, and even verbal coincidences, in the comedies of the two writers, so that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Goldsmith borrowed directly from such plays of his predecessor as *Le Legs* (in the case of *The Good-natured Man*) and *Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard* (in the case of *She Stoops to Conquer*).

There remain, finally, Goldsmith's verse-compositions. Mr. Sells shows that there are several parallels which can scarcely be regarded as coincidences between the *Traveller* on the one hand and the *Lettres persanes* and *L'Esprit des Lois* on the other; and that there is a good deal of similarity between the economic theories of the *Deserted Village*—queer and exaggerated as they are—and Rousseau's condemnation of luxury and civilisation. Like Mat Prior before him, Goldsmith in his fugitive verse owes much to contemporary French writers of *vers de société*. To quote only two examples, some of the best things in the "Elegy on the Death of a Mad Dog," and the "Elegy on that glory of her Sex, Mrs. Mary Blaize"—especially the burlesque tone given to them, and the humorous use of the figure known technically as "surprise"—are taken bodily from an epigram of Voltaire (imitated by the latter himself from the Greek Anthology) and an old French song touched up by a minor eighteenth-century poet, La Monnoye, respectively.

The writer of this book employs the sensible French method of placing his parallel passages side by side on the same page instead of relegating them to footnotes or an appendix. Thus one can see at a glance the changes made in a passage first composed by Du Halde in his *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, then borrowed by D'Argens in his *Lettres chinoises*, and finally paraphrased in the *Citizen of the World*. Altogether, and in spite of an occasional *naïveté* and some tendency to unnecessary repetition, the author has shown himself equal to his task, and a good pupil of those excellent teachers at the Sorbonne.

A. H. SLEIGHT.

**The Halliford Edition of the Works of Thomas Love Peacock.** London: Constable & Co., Ltd. Vols. 2-5, 1924. (Vol. II: *Melincourt*. Vol. III: *Nightmare Abbey*; *Maid Marian*. Vol. IV: *The Misfortunes of Elphin*; *Crotchet Castle*. Vol. V: *Gryll Grange*.) Ten volumes, nine guineas net.

THIS, which the publishers hope "will take its place as the definitive edition," will be completed in ten volumes. Just half a century has passed since the first—and hitherto the sole—attempt was made to collect Peacock's writings. A comparison of the two editions is instructive. In Bentley's edition of 1875 (not 1871 as stated in the prospectus of the new edition) the novels fill two of the three volumes; in the Halliford edition they will occupy about four and a half volumes out of ten. The difference is a measure of what we may expect in the way of new or uncollected pieces.

We say expect, because the publishers have yielded to public avidity by sending out, as an advance guard (though perhaps a metaphor from angling would better suit the case), the four volumes containing the novels (except *Headlong Hall*, which, with the Biographical and Critical Introduction, will form the first volume). The material for a final verdict, therefore, is not yet available; but we hasten to express our appreciation of what is, and to give the publishers and editors an instalment of the commendation which we believe they will deserve.

The enterprise is promoted by Messrs. Constable (we think we see Mr. Michael Sadleir's hand in some places) and edited by Mr. H. F. B. Brett-Smith, who is assisted by Mr. C. E. Jones. Mr. Brett-Smith has already a tried reputation as an editor in this and other fields; and Mr. Jones has won his spurs with an elegant and scholarly reprint of the first edition of *Nightmare Abbey*. We feel safe in their hands; and our confidence is confirmed by the examination of these four volumes.

Interesting as Peacock's miscellaneous writings are, it is as a novelist that he lives. The history of his reputation as a novelist is well indicated by the bibliography. *Headlong Hall* was printed twice in 1816 and again in 1822. Doubtless the editions were small. *The Misfortunes of Elphin* was not reprinted in its author's lifetime. *Nightmare Abbey*, *Maid Marian*, and *Crotchet Castle* were not reprinted in this country until in 1837 they and *Headlong Hall* were included, as volume 57, in Bentley's Standard Novels. This

volume was reprinted in 1849. In 1856 there were reprints of all the novels except *Elphin* (and *Gryll Grange*, not yet written). In 1875 came the collected edition mentioned above. In 1891, Messrs. Dent produced the novels in nine volumes, with one volume of *Miscellanea*; this edition was by Richard Garnett. A few years later Messrs. Macmillan produced an edition by Professor Saintsbury in five volumes. Early in the present century *Headlong Hall* and *Nightmare Abbey* were printed in Everyman's Library, and Messrs. Newnes, by the use of thin paper, compressed all the novels into one volume. It would be interesting to know how many of these editions were remunerative. They are, perhaps, evidence of the enterprise and hopefulness of publishers rather than of any widespread popularity of the author. Still, the record is reasonably continuous; it shows that Peacock has always had his public. To-day he is more than ever assured of the affection and respect of discerning readers. A recent reviewer has protested, and perhaps with justice, that it is no longer necessary to introduce this author, with a few pages of biography and praise, as though to an ignorant or incredulous public. He is now to be ranked as classical; the demand for his books, and for more information about them and him, may be assumed.

The present edition, like most collected editions of this magnificence, is monumental rather than evangelical. It will not, perhaps, do much to spread the author's fame; but it records and confirms it. It will, on the other hand, supersede all other editions—except the first editions—in the esteem of scholars, collectors, bibliographers, booksellers, typographers, and all Pavonians or Philotahoists. As far as may be judged from the instalment before us, it deserves to become "standard." The editors' method is the right method. They follow the text of 1837 in respect of the four novels which Peacock revised at that date; but they are alive to the fact that variation between that edition and the *principes* may be due not to revision but to printers' errors, and they have used their judgment in cases of doubt. They have, further, recorded the readings of the first editions wherever there is verbal variation. In textual accuracy the edition seems to be nearly perfect. A hasty perusal of two of the volumes has yielded very little.

The original editions are almost free from serious error; but the editors have detected, and corrected, a few faulty places. They deserve credit for correcting a rather confused place in *Elphin* (p. 86, l. 11), where, as they point out, *she* should be *he*. They very



seldom make the mistake of doing too much ; but *expend* and *wave* (for *waive*) are common spellings, which should not be described as misprints ; and in *Melincourt* (p. 135, l. 10), " to do away the effect of all these incendiary clamours " should not be changed to " do away *with* the effect "—a reference to the Oxford Dictionary would have shown this.

It is perhaps a pity that the editors have limited themselves so strictly. Doing so much, they might well have done a little more. In the process of verification they must have traced many of Peacock's adespotic quotations ; readers would have been grateful if they had given the references. It would be interesting, too, to know if Peacock often misquoted. Mr. Jones detected three misquotations in *Nightmare Abbey*, all from the vernacular. Did he misquote Rabelais, or Nonnus himself ?

A small matter—but it has puzzled many editors—is the treatment of Greek quotations. In reprinting an eighteenth-century author, the rule is to leave them alone ; the irregularities are significant, and to remove them is to do what the author, perhaps, could not have done. But Peacock's is a different case. The editors tell us that his practice, until late in life, was to ignore accents and smooth breathings, and they have respected this when the edition they followed allowed them to do so. But if we are to have accents (and they abound in *Elphin* and *Gryll Grange*), is it not due to Peacock to have them right ? It is certainly illegitimate to let the printer add fresh errors to the errors of the former printer (*e.g.* *Gryll Grange*, Chap. XXII,  $\pi\acute{\iota}\eta$ , Chap. XII,  $\Pi\epsilon\iota\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  for  $\Pi\epsilon\iota\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , *Elphin*, Chap. VIII,  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ ).

Not the least important aspect of an edition like this is its material execution ; and it merits unqualified praise. The type and the setting are of just the right elegance ; the paper is pleasant to the eye and the touch. I am not sure that the headline is not too large, or that the lower margin is not slightly exaggerated ; but these are exacting criticisms. The binding of a uniform collected edition is always a difficulty. The effect of multiplication is often to make a plain binding look mean, and a gay binding garish. Both dangers have been averted here ; the smooth maroon cloth, with its gilded black label, gains greatly in effect when the books are put in a row. If they remind us a little of Scythrop in his night-cap-cowl and dressing-gown, or of venerable eleutherarchs and ghostly confederates holding midnight conventions in subterranean caves—why not ?

Collectors of Peacock will linger lovingly over the bibliographical details of which Mr. Brett-Smith is lavish. They could not be better done. The differentiation of the bindings of the first edition—however mortifying to the collector who finds his copy described as in “remainder state”—is a model of careful description, and adds something to the history of nineteenth-century book-selling.

Let us join in bumpers to Mr. Brett-Smith, Mr. Jones, Messrs. Constable, Messrs Maclehose, the anonymous binder, the anonymous paper-maker, and the shade of the immortal author. We are all delighted with their first course, and impatiently await the remove.

R. W. CHAPMAN.

**John Davies of Hereford (1565?–1618) und sein Bild von Shakespeare's Umgebung.** Von HANS HEIDRICH. (Palaestra, 143.) Leipzig, 1924. Pp. vi. 124.

JOHN DAVIES of Hereford, though less well known, perhaps because his work is less accessible, than his contemporary Sir John, was in many ways the more interesting person of the two, and this study of his work is welcome. Fortunately it is not, as one might perhaps infer from its title, one of those wearisome attempts to create a picture of a writer and his time by means of a laborious mosaic of his work, wherein the most casual and conventional scrap of literary embellishment is made the basis of large assumptions as to his character and tastes. Rather is it a dry and almost formal investigation of Davies' literary and personal allusions, which loses none of its value because it is essentially a commentary, and for the most part can only be read in close conjunction with Grosart's text.

The work is divided into five chapters. The first gives a brief summary of what is known of Davies' life, and a chronological list of his works; the second and third, which together amount to nearly four-fifths of the whole, and are much the more important part of it, deal with his “Belesenheit”—would that English afforded some less ambiguous word for this than “reading”!—and with all the persons mentioned in his works. The fourth and fifth discuss briefly his critical outlook and his personality as revealed in his writings.

Much of the contents of the volume would be best in place as notes or introduction to a new edition of Davies' works, were such a thing possible, but the “Belesenheit” chapter has an interest of its own to those students who care to understand the intellectual

background of the early seventeenth century. The author has collected not only all definite mentions of other writers, contemporary, mediæval or classical, but all passages of Davies' work which he could trace to them, whether direct mentions or not. This must have cost—as any one who has tried to do the same thing for any early author knows—a great amount of labour, and as regards contemporary writers seems to be very satisfactorily done. As Mr. Heidrich is well aware, however, the quotations from the classics in such works as those of Davies are by no means always at first hand; but to trace them to their immediate sources would have meant extended search among those numerous more modern compilations from which the Elizabethans drew so many of their learned allusions. Unfortunately Mr. Heidrich has lacked opportunity for such search, and the result has been perhaps to give a somewhat false impression of Davies' scholarship. For example, in *Microcosmos* he has a long passage detailing the opinions of various philosophers about the soul, all of which Mr. Heidrich has traced to their originals, with the result that a reader of his book might suppose Davies to have been a profound student of Greek philosophy. As a matter of fact, the whole passage of some 130 lines is simply paraphrased from the chapter "Of the Soule" in James Sandford's translation of Cornelius Agrippa's *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum*. A short passage from each will show how closely Davies could keep to his original.

For Crates said, there is no Soule at all,  
But that by Nature, Bodies mouéd be :  
Hipparchus, and Leucippus, Fire it call,  
With whom (in sort) the Stoïckes doe  
agree :

A fire Sp'rite betweene the Atomee  
Democritus wil haue it : and the Aire  
Some say it is : the Barrell'd Cynick,  
hee  
And with him others of another haire,  
Doe thus depaint the soule, and file her  
faire.

The soule (say they) is Aire, the Mouth  
takes in,  
Boil'd in the Lights, and temp'ed in  
the Hart,

And so the body it throughout doth rin ;  
(*Microcosmos*, ed. Grosart, p. 83.)

For Crates the Thebane \* saith that  
there is no soule, but that the bodies be  
so moued by nature . . . but some of  
them haue sayde it to be fire as  
Hipparchus and Leucippus, with whiche  
after a sorte the Stoïckes doo agree . . .  
and Democritus saithe that it is a  
moueable and fire spirite put betweene  
the Atomi, that is, vndiuident parts.  
Other haue sayde that it is the ayre,  
as Anaximes and Anaxagoras, Diogenes  
the Cinick, and Critias, to whome  
Varro doth assente sayeing : the soule  
is the ayre receiued into the mouthe  
boyled in the lightes, tempered in the  
harte, and dispersed thorowe the  
bodye.†

(*Vanitie and vncertainie of Artes and  
Sciences*, 1569, fol. 65 verso.)

\* Misprinted *Thebane*; corrected in the 1575 edition, which is the one which Davies is most likely to have used.

† Most of this chapter was annexed almost verbally by Lodowic Lloyd for the chapter "Of the worlde and of the soule of man" in his *Pilgrimage of Princes*, but Davies borrowed direct from Sandford.

Indeed, to any one with access to the right kind of library and some experience of where to search, it would not, I think, be a difficult matter to show that a great part of Davies' work is little more than a verse paraphrase. The framework of *Microcosmos* was evidently taken from the Second Volume of de la Primaudaye's *French Academy*, many passages being closely copied. Thus the first ninety stanzas are from Chapters XXXIII.-XXXIX., while later we have some fifty stanzas concerning Love, which are based on Chapter LI., in each case many phrases being taken over unchanged, though there are, of course, large omissions in the argument. It is in these sections perhaps that the *French Academy* has been most closely followed, but much besides is derived from the same work, while even the interpolated passages have as a rule the air of being borrowed wholesale, as we have seen that the stanzas on the soul were, from other writers. But though we may regret that the author of the study before us was unable to pursue his researches into this aspect of the matter, we must thank him for a piece of work which will in any case greatly facilitate the researches of others.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that among those persons referred to whom Mr. Heidrich, as well as Grosart, has failed to identify, Dudley Norton was probably the Sir Dudley Norton who was Principal Secretary of State for Ireland in 1612, and that Thomas Giles, the dancing master, occurs several times in Nichols's *Progresses of James I.* He belonged, in 1610, to the household of Prince Henry.

R. B. McKERROW.

**Yearbook of the New Society of Letters at Lund. 1924.**

**Litteris:** An International Critical Review of the Humanities, published by the New Society of Letters at Lund under the editorship of S. B. LILJEGREN, JÖRAN SAHLGREN, LAURITZ WEIBULL. Vol. i., December 1924.

BOTH these periodicals, published in England by Mr. Humphrey Milford, contain articles of interest for the student of English.

In the *Yearbook*, Professor Denis Saurat writes on *Les Idées Philosophiques de Spenser*. After a general consideration of "le sentiment de la nature" in Spenser he passes to the Garden of

Adonis and the Mutability cantos, pointing out two contradictory systems of thought: the pagan philosophy which was natural to the poet and the religion without which he could not exist. His conclusion is that "l'état normal de cette âme était le paganisme sensuel et plus qu'à demi-sceptique: la religion lui venait par crises inévitables, mais passagères."

Professor Olof Gjerdmann of Uppsala has a full discussion of Sievers' theory of the use of *Schallanalyse* or *Klanganalyse* in deciding the authorship of disputed or composite works. Of the remaining articles a study in folklore, *Det Avkvistade Trädet i Fornfinnarnas Initiationsriter* (Uno Holmberg), deserves special notice here.

*Litteris* contains reviews by Professor G. C. Moore Smith of the third edition of *Shakespeare-Grammatik* (W. Franz); by Professor George Saintsbury of *Daniel De Foë et ses Romans* (Paul Dottin); by Professor Hannes Sköld of *Die Urbewölkerung Europas und die Herkunft der Germanen* (F. Braun) and *Der japhetische Kaukasus und das dritte Ethnische Element im Bildungsprozess der mittelländischen Kultur* (N. Marr); and by Professor S. B. Liljegren of *Die Soziologie der literarischen Geschmacksbildung* (L. L. Schücking).

E. C. B.

**The Year's Work in English Studies.** Vol. IV. 1923. Edited for the English Association by SIR SIDNEY LEE and F. S. BOAS. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1924. Pp. 269. 7s. 6d. net (to Members of the E. A. 3s. 6d. net).

This fourth volume of *The Year's Work* is considerably thicker than its predecessors, the output of critical work, already greater than usual in some other departments, having been, as the editors point out, increased by the Shakespearean studies called forth by the tercentenary of the First Folio. The plan of the book is as in previous years, the various chapters having been undertaken by Prof. Abercrombie, Prof. Tolkien, Miss E. E. Wardale, Prof. P. G. Thomas, Dr. A. W. Reed, Dr. Boas, Prof. Grierson, Prof. Nicoll, Prof. Edith Morley, Prof. Herford, Mr. Routh, and Mr. Esdaile. The summaries seem in all cases to have been excellently done; indeed, I think in some ways there is an improvement on former

years, in that as a whole the book seems more readable without there being any loss in detail or comprehensiveness. The one complaint that I have to bring against it is the lateness of issue. Though dated 1924 it was not actually issued until January 1925, more than twelve months after the close of the period with which it deals and at a date when a good deal of the work recorded had already been (as is indeed sometimes noted) the subject of considerable criticism and comment. The value of the book to students would be enormously increased if it could be issued by April or May of the following year, a thing which, one would suppose, ought to be by no means impossible seeing that a great part of the material could obviously be prepared well in advance. Even if this meant that a few papers published abroad towards the end of the year would have to be held over to the next volume, this would be more than outweighed by the advantage of having prompt notice of the majority of books. It might also be suggested that a somewhat stronger binding might be used; the present brown paper is pleasant enough in appearance, but will stand little wear and soils too easily for a reference book. The cost of substituting one of the cheaper cloths would be trifling.

R. B. McK.

**England in the Nineteenth Century.** Vol. I., 1815-1860.

Edited by P. GEYL and E. KRUISSINGA. Pp. 192. Utrecht.  
Kemink en Zoon. 1924.

This, the eighth volume of a series of Selections from English Literature, under the editorship of Dr. E. Kruisinga, consists of passages chosen to illustrate, for Dutch students, the history and social state of the period, but appropriate also as examples of contemporary English. The Journal and Letters of Queen Victoria are drawn upon, as also the writings of Justin McCarthy, J. L. and B. Hammond, and other historians; and with these are extracts from Charles Lamb, Dickens, Thackeray, Disraeli, Gladstone, Thomas Hardy (*The Dynasts*), Lytton Strachey, etc. The editors' comments are concise and apposite.

H. R. H.



## SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

BY EDITH C. BATHO

### ANGLIA, August 1924—

Byron : Klassizismus und Romantik (Helene Richter), pp. 209-57.

Comparison especially with Donne and Pope.

The place-names Jervaulx, Ure and York (A. H. Smith), pp. 291-96.

### October 1924—

Felicia Hemans und die englischen Beziehungen zur deutschen Literatur im ersten Drittel des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, IV. (Werner K. Ruprecht), pp. 297-357.

Frances Burney's *Evelina* (1778), und das Aufkommen der Frauenromane (Karl Danz), pp. 358-74.

### BODLEIAN QUARTERLY RECORD, Vol. IV., July 1924—

The first Bodleian Subject Catalogue (G. W. W.), pp. 123-24.

Cancels in Boswell's *Hebrides* (R. W. Chapman), p. 124.

Bibliographical note.

Obiter Scripta, p. 126.

Correction of colophon to Balliol College MS. 36, wrongly rendered by Coxe.

English Monastic Scriptoria (H. H. E. C.), pp. 137-38.

List of the Works of Thomas James, S.T.P. (G. W. W.), pp. 138-41.

### October 1924—

Documents and Records B. The Literary Work of a Benedictine Monk at Leominster in the Thirteenth Century (F. Madan), pp. 168-70.

### CORNHILL MAGAZINE, Vol. LVII., August 1924—

Dora Wordsworth : Her Book (F. V. Morley), pp. 130-45.

Continued in September, pp. 257-276 ; October, pp. 494-510.

Dora Wordsworth's album and its contributors.

### October 1924—

Dr. Johnson and the Temple (F. D. MacKinnon), pp. 465-77.

### ENGLISH STUDIES, June-August 1924—

Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster* (J. H. Schutt), pp. 81-87.

Critical analysis.

## ENGLISH STUDIES, September 1924—

John Masefield, Poet (W. van Doorn), pp. 129-41.

Literary influences and inequality as a poet.

## ————— December 1924—

The Dialect of the Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter (Mary S. Serjeantson), pp. 177-199.

Argues that the dialect is not West Midland, as stated by Bülbring in his E.E.T.S. edition, but central Midland, probably Northamptonshire.

Prof. Moulton and Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* (J. H. Schutt), pp. 200-214.

## ENGLISCHE STUDIEN, Vol. LVIII., No. 2.—

Studien zu den Towneley Plays (F. Holthausen), pp. 161-78.

Textual studies.

Echte und "unechte" Masken (J. Koch), pp. 179-212.

Defoe und Milton (Walther Fischer), pp. 213-27.

*Political History of the Devil and Paradise Lost.*

Ein ungedruckter Brief von Byron (Manfred Eimer), pp. 288-89.

## JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY, Vol. XXIII., October 1924—

The Historicity of Arthur (Kemp Malone), pp. 463-91.

Arthur and Uther; Arthur as "degraded god"; Arthur and Cadur; conclusion that Arthur is entirely mythical and has no original connection with historic victor of Mount Badon.

Shakespeare and Elizabethan Psychology (Murray W. Bundy), pp. 516-49.

Study of certain philosophical ideas, especially of conflict between head and heart.

## LEUVENSCHÉ BIJDRAGEN, 1924, 1st and 2nd issues—

The Legends of Amicus and Amelius and of King Horn (A. H. Krappe), pp. 14-17.

Parallels between the stories, due probably not to direct borrowing but to common use of widespread motifs.

## MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW, July 1924—

Robert Southwell's *Saint Peter's Complaint* and its Italian Source (Mario Praz), pp. 273-90.

The Source of a Passage in Byrhtferð's *Handboc* (W. B. Sedgwick), pp. 335-7.

The Fairy Scene in *The Merry Wives* in Folio and Quarto (Levin L. Schücking), pp. 338-40.

Coleridge Marginalia on Wieland and Schiller (Leonard L. Mackall), pp. 344-46.

## MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW, October 1924—

- The Style of *The Battle of Maldon* (E. D. Laborde), pp. 401-17.  
 Thomas Ravenscroft's Theatrical Associations (W. J. Lawrence), pp. 418-23.  
 Italian and English Pastoral Drama of the Renaissance. III. Sources of Daniel's *Queen's Arcadia* and Randolph's *Amyntas* (V. M. Jeffrey), pp. 435-44.  
 The Origin of the Play of *Moses and the Tables of the Law* (P. E. Dustoor), pp. 459-62.  
 On the Date of Donne's *Hymne to God my God, in my Sicknesse* (John Sparrow), pp. 462-66.  
 Essex Place-names in *-ing* (Percy H. Reaney), pp. 466-69.  
 Mockbeggar Hall (Percy H. Reaney), pp. 469-70.

## MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, Vol. XXXIX., November 1924—

- The Apparitions in *Macbeth*, Part II. (A. W. Crawford), pp. 383-8.  
 Grimald's Translations from Beza (H. H. Hudson), pp. 388-94.  
 The True Sources of Robert Dodsley's *The King and the Miller of Mansfield* (Olav K. Lundeborg), pp. 394-7.  
 A Note on Cynewulf (J. M. Lindeman), pp. 397-9.  
     *On flint unbræcne.*  
 On the Meaning of the word "Lake" in Marlowe's *Edward II.* (W. D. Briggs), pp. 437-8.  
 Some Details of the Sonnet Revival (A. D. McKillop), pp. 438-40.

## MODERN PHILOLOGY, Vol. XXI., May 1924—

- How a Lover praiseth his Lady* (Eleanor Prescott Hammond), pp. 379-95.  
 XVth Century Poem from MS. Bodl. Fairfax 16, printed for the first time and discussed.

## — Vol. XXII., August 1924—

- Cadmon's Hymn (M. G. Frampton), pp. 1-3.  
     Discussion of comparative age and authority of different versions.  
 Coleridge's Manuscript Lectures (Thomas M. Raysor), pp. 17-25.  
 Biographical Notes on Spenser (F. F. Covington, Jr.), pp. 63-66.  
 G. W. Senior and G. W. I. (F. I. Carpenter), pp. 67-68.  
     Authorship of prefatory sonnets to Spenser's *Amoretti*.  
 The Grail and the English Sir Perceval, V. (Arthur C. L. Brown), pp. 79-96.  
     Irish stories of battles between gods and giants, and their connexion with Perceval.  
 The Marriages of Edmund Spenser (F. I. Carpenter), pp. 97-98.

## — Vol. XXII., November 1924—

- The Grail and the English Sir Perceval, VI. (Arthur C. L. Brown), pp. 113-32.  
 Levenoth and the Grateful Dead (J. S. P. Tatlock), pp. 211-4.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, Vol. XCVI, August 1924—  
Robert Browning (G. H. Bonner), pp. 219-27.

— September 1924—

Love in Shakespeare (Morton Luce), pp. 335-42.

A Trollope Love Story and Mary Thorne (Michael Sadleir),  
pp. 355-66.

— October 1924—

Style (W. F. Lord), pp. 519-30.  
Style and matter.

Scott and the Waverley Novels (Vernon Rendall), pp. 531-36.

Bret Harte's Genius (J. P. Collins), pp. 537-43.

— November 1924—

The Novels of Disraeli (R. E. Gordon George), pp. 668-76.

Music in the Poets (D. A. Chart), pp. 677-87.

— December 1924—

Prometheus in Literature (Herbert Antcliffe), pp. 815-24.  
Æschylus, Shelley, Bridges.

NOTES AND QUERIES, Vol. 147, 1924—

— July 12—

The Gumstool : Gumstole : Goomstol (St. Clair Baddeley), p. 25.  
Origin of place-name. Further examples given by M. M. B., July 26,  
p. 69; F. W. Cock, September 6, p. 181.

"I could do such deeds!" (Robert R. Cawley), p. 26.

Source of quotation in *The Rivals*.

"—Er," in "Londoner," etc. (R. J. Whitwell), p. 26.

Early instances.

John Richard Digby Beste (G. F. R. B.), p. 34.

List of books by him (cf. Vol. 146, p. 451).

— August 2—

Ovid, Sandys and Milton (C. W. Brodrib), pp. 77-78.

Knowledge of Sandys' Ovid shown by writer of stanzas on engraved scenes  
from *Metamorphoses*; date of stanzas; possibility that Sandys was author.  
Reply by H. C. H. Candy, August 16, pp. 122-24.

Park's *British Poets* (P. J. Anderson), p. 83.

Bibliographical note.

— August 30—

Scott : *The Antiquary* (Edward Bensly), p. 155.

Source of quotation in Ch. XIX.

Novelists' "Slips" : Stevenson (W. Courthope Forman), p. 155.

Double slip in *St. Ives*.

# SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE 251

## NOTES AND QUERIES, September 13—

Shakespeariana (Herbert Southam), pp. 188-89.

Transcripts from records.

Additions by George Egerton, October 4, p. 244.

## September 27—

An Elian Annotation (John M. Turnbull), pp. 224-25.

Source of story in *A Complaint of the Decay of Beggars*. Answer by H. Prosser Chanter, October 18, pp. 290-91.

## October 4—

"Kaibosh" (H. Loewe), pp. 244-45.

Etymology and use.

Wotton's Poem, *You Meaner Beauties* (G. C. Moore Smith), p. 252.

Note on fuller form.

## October 11—

*A North Briton Extraordinary* (F. A. Pottle), pp. 259-61.

Question of authorship.

## October 18—

Boswell's *Matrimonial Thought* (F. A. Pottle), p. 283.

## November 1—

Wharton, friend of Gray (H. Askew and Edward Bensly), pp. 319-21.

## November 8—

Dryden and Swift Connection (P. D. Mundy), p. 334.

Shakespeariana (Herbert Southam), p. 334.

Charles Dickens, Miss Weller and Mr. Birrell (T. W. Tyrrell), pp. 338-9.

## November 15—

Peele's Borrowings from Du Bartas (H. Dugdale Sykes), pp. 349-51.

Concluded November 22, pp. 368-9.

An English Traveller in North Germany, 1817 (A.Y.), pp. 352-3.

Journal of John Fell.

Continued November 22, pp. 369-71; November 29, pp. 387-9;

December 6, pp. 404-5.

## November 22—

Boswelliana: Two Attributions (F. A. Pottle), p. 375.

Boswell's first published work.

## December 6—

*A North Briton Extraordinary*: Boswell and Corsica (F. A. Pottle),

pp. 403-4.

## December 13—

New Light on some Episodes in the Life of Thomas Otway (J. C.

Ghosh), pp. 421-4.

Continued December 20, pp. 439-42; December 27, pp. 459-63.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,  
Vol. XXXIX., September 1924—

The Punctuation of Shakespeare's Printers (R. M. Alden), pp. 557-80.

The Secret of Love's Labour's Lost (A. K. Gray), pp. 581-611.

Theory of origin of play, connecting it with Southampton's contract to Lady Elizabeth de Vere.

Shakespearian Criticism in the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* (J. H. Neumann), pp. 612-23.

Thomas Heywood, D'Avenant, and *The Siege of Rhodes* (Alwin Thaler), pp. 624-41.

Influence of *The Fair Maid of the West* on D'Avenant's play.

A Supplement on Strollers (Elbridge Colby), pp. 642-54.

Supplement to paper by Professor Alwin Thaler, Vol. XXXVII., pp. 243-80.

Pater, Heine, and the old Gods of Greece (J. S. Harrison), pp. 655-86.

— December 1924—

The Early Printed Editions of the Canterbury Tales (W. W. Greg), pp. 737-61.

Manuscript sources and textual value of early printed editions.

Colfox vs. Chauntecler (J. Leslie Hotson), pp. 762-79.

Possible traces of contemporary history in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*.

Chaucer and Alchemy (S. Foster Damon), pp. 782-8.

The Paternoster Play and the Origin of the Vices (Tempe E. Allison), pp. 789-804.

Drayton's *Endimion and Phœbe* and Keats's *Endymion* (Claude L. Finney), pp. 805-13.

Similarities especially of structure, and also of detail.

Drayton's *Sirena* (J. W. Hebel), pp. 814-36.

*The Drinking Academy, or the Cheaters' Holiday* (Hyder E. Rollins), pp. 837-71.

Early XVIIth century anonymous play printed for the first time.

Byron and the Comic Spirit. A Study of Poetic Mood (G. R. Elliott), pp. 897-909.

Unpublished Passages from the Pforzheimer MS. of Shelley's *Philosophical View of Reform* (W. E. Peck), pp. 910-8.

A Phase of Carlyle's Relation to *Fraser's Magazine* (Miriam Mulford Thrall), pp. 919-31.

Browning's *Childe Roland* (Harold Golder), pp. 963-78.

View of poem as based on a vision, as well as having sources in romance.

The Study of Dipodic Verse (George R. Stewart, Jr.), pp. 979-89.

REVUE ANGLO-AMÉRICAIN, June 1924—

Le réalisme poétique de John Masfield (Floris Delattre), pp. 389-402.



# SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE 253

## REVUE ANGLO-AMÉRICAIN, June 1924—

James Stephens (André Brulé), pp. 402-16.

Contains translations of passages from *The Crock of Gold*, *The Demi-Gods*, and *Here are Ladies*.

Note sur Shakespeare, Richard II., I. iii. (J. Derocquigny), pp. 430-31.

## — August 1924—

Le sentiment médiéval en Angleterre au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, et la première poésie de William Morris : I. (Lucien Wolff), pp. 491-504.

Early life and *Sir Peter Harpdon's End*.

Bacon et Montaigne essayistes (Valentine Taffe), pp. 505-16.

Comparison with examples of Bacon's borrowings.

Shakespeare et Belleforest (J. Derocquigny), pp. 527-28.

Evidence that Shakespeare used English translation, not French original.

Une difficulté d'une des méthodes anti-stratfordiennes (Georges Connes), pp. 529-31.

The family connexions of Oxford, Derby, Rutland, Pembroke, and Southampton ; and the relations of these with Shakespeare.

## STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY, Vol. XXI., October 1924—

John Kirke, the Caroline Actor-Dramatist (W. J. Lawrence), pp. 586-93.

Identifies the actor John Kirke as author of the play of *The Seven Champions of Christendom*.

Spenserian Prosody : The Couplet Forms (Joseph T. Shipley), pp. 594-615.

Coleridge's Cosmogony : A Note on the Poetic "World-View" (Alice D. Snyder), pp. 616-25.

Richard Robinson's *Eupolemia* (1603) (G. McG. Vogt), pp. 629-48

Prints the *Eupolemia* in full from British Museum MS. Royal 18A. lxvi.

## TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, 1924, July 10—

Middle Scots Texts (Bruce Dickins), p. 436.

Suggested explanation of *The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy*, l. 188.

## — July 17—

Jonson and *Thomas of Woodstock* (Bertram Lloyd), p. 449.

Note on anonymous Egerton MS. 1994.

## — July 24—

Errors in the text of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* (E. Harrison), pp. 463-64.

Continued on July 31, p. 477. Further notes by Edward Bensly, July 31, p. 477, August 21, p. 513.

## — July 31—

A German play on Marlowe (Henry Gerson), p. 477.

## TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, 1924, August 7—

The Cotton Genesis and Peiresc (M. R. James), p. 489.

An episode in the history of the MS.

Further note by J. A. Herbert, August 21, p. 513.

## August 21—

*Love's Labour's Lost* (J. A. Fort), p. 513.

Suggested interpretations of IV. iii. 334-8 and 174. Discussion continued by C. H. Herford and J. Dover Wilson, August 28, p. 525; J. A. Fort, September 4, p. 540.

*Poems*. By a Sister (1812). Wrongly attributed to Mary Lamb (G. A. Anderson), p. 513.

## September 4—

A New Stanza to *You Meaner Beauties of the Night* (Agnes Conway), p. 540.

Discussion continued by G. E. Manwaring, September 25, p. 596; A. E. H. Swaen, October 9, p. 631; Agnes Conway, October 30, p. 686; Davidson Cook and G. E. Manwaring, November 6, pp. 709-10; Agnes Conway, December 11, p. 850.

## September 11—

The Proof Sheets of *Redgauntlet* (David MacRitchie), p. 556.

Mrs. Thomas Sheridan (E. Prime-Stevenson), p. 556.

Criticism of *Memoirs of Miss Sydney Biddulph*.

A Reading in *Beowulf* (W. A. P. Sewell), p. 556.

Suggested interpretation of l. 6.

## September 18—

Dr. Johnson's Schemes of Study (A. L. Reade), p. 577.

"Pioned and twilled brims" (W. F. Dawson), p. 577.

Interpretation of invocation to Ceres in *The Tempest*.

Aubrey Beardsley and the *Yellow Book* (H<sub>2</sub>SO<sub>4</sub>), p. 578.

Bibliographical note. Further notes by W. A. Hutchison, September 25, p. 596; R. A. Walker, October 2, p. 612; W. A. Hutchison, October 16, p. 651.

## September 25—

Shakespearean Elisions in *Sir Thomas More* (J. Dover Wilson), p. 596.

Discussion continued by C. H. Herford and J. A. Fort, October 9, p. 631; J. Dover Wilson, October 16, p. 651.

## October 2—

Lydgate's *Troy Book* (A. M. Clarke), p. 612.

Authorship of Elizabethan modernization.

## October 9—

Dr. Johnson and Smoking (Leonard Whitley), p. 631.

Further notes by L. F. Powell and William T. Whitley, October 16, p. 651.

The Text of Hamlet (B. A. P. van Dam), p. 631.

Reply to reviewer of *The Text of Shakespeare's Hamlet*, September 25, p. 592.

TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, 1924, October 16—

A Text of Blake (Max Plowman), p. 651.

Need for a new complete edition with reproductions of poetry and facsimiles of pictures and illustrations; textual emendations. Answer by Geoffrey Keynes, October 23, pp. 667-68. Further note (Blake's *Bible of Hell*) by Max Plowman, November 6, p. 710.

Caxton's Ovid (Edward Bensly), p. 651.

Explanation of textual error.

Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* and *Hamlet* (M. Montgomery), p. 651.

Possible source of Murder of Gonzago.

October 23—

Aurelian Townsend (G. C. Moore Smith), p. 667.

Connexion with Sackville family.

The Name "Ivanhoe" (Allen Mawer), p. 668.

Problem of source of form used by Scott.

*Measure for Measure* (Henry Cuninghame), p. 668.

Reading and interpretation of I. i. 8.

Discussion continued by Francis E. Terry, October 30, p. 686.

October 30—

Johnson's Letters (R. W. Chapman), p. 686.

Notes on revised edition in preparation.

November 6—

Inigo Jones and the Italian Intermedio (Enid Welsford), p. 709.

*The Shakespeare Signatures and "Sir Thomas More"* (Sir George Greenwood), p. 710.

Reply to reviewer of *The Shakespeare Signatures and "Sir Thomas More,"* October 30.

Robert Louis Stevenson (John A. Steuart), p. 710.

Reply to reviewer of *Life of Robert Louis Stevenson*, October 30; and rejoinder by reviewer.

Further reply and rejoinder, November 20, p. 776; December 11, p. 850.

November 13—

3 *Henry VI.* and *Richard, Duke of York* (P. Alexander), p. 730.

Relation between the texts.

Discussion continued by A. W. Pollard, November 27, p. 797.

"Diana in the fountain" (George Gordon), p. 731.

Note on *As You Like It*, IV. 1.

Paragraphing in *Lycidas* (E. M. W. Tillyard), p. 731.

November 20—

Shakespeare and Daniel (R. C. Bald), p. 776.

Parallel passages in *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. 2, and Daniel's "Letter sent from Octavia."

## TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, 1924, November 27—

An Essay by Shelley (W. E. Peck), pp. 797-8.

Introductory letter; essay, possibly by Shelley, reprinted from *The Indicator*, No. XLI.

Pepys's *Diary* (G. Bell & Sons, Limited), p. 798.

Bibliographical note.

Forbes's *Cantus*, 1662 (F. J. Anderson), p. 798.

Bibliographical note.

## — December 4—

The Second Newspaper of English News (R. H. Griffith), p. 823.

Spenser's *Complaints* (W. J. B. Pienaar), p. 825.

Textual notes.

*Joseph Conrad: A Personal Remembrance* (Jessie Conrad), p. 826.

Correction of some statements in Ford Madox Hueffer's *Joseph Conrad: A Personal Remembrance*.

*Memoir of Thomas Bewick* (Bernard Quaritch, Limited), p. 826.

Bibliographical note; reply by Selwyn Image, December 11, p. 850.

## — December 11—

Some Unrecorded Newsbooks (R. H. Griffith), p. 849.

A Marlowe Mystification (J. M. Robertson), p. 850.

Correction of note, followed by later editors, in Douce's *Illustrations of Shakespeare*.

*The Testament of Cresseid* (Bruce Dickins), p. 850.

Textual note. Discussion continued by W. M. L. Hutchinson, December 25, p. 885.

## — December 18—

Standard Texts (Teredo), p. 871; also December 25, p. 885.

The New Pope (George G. Loane), p. 871.

Misprints in Everyman edition corrected.

Undated Books (Archibald Sparke), p. 871.

## — December 25—

Shakespeare's Sonnets (C. L. Davies), p. 885.

Textual notes.

Charles Lamb's Lines *In the Album of Catherine Orkney* (John M. Turnbull), p. 885.

Bibliographical note.

A French Critic? (Alan Harris), p. 885.

Critic possibly "invented" by Swinburne.

*The Indi-*

23.

26.  
*Conrad :*

50.

*tations of*

December

John M.